

Algeria D 8.50	China HK 1.50
Andorra FF 10	Denmark DK 1.50
Australia A 6.50	France FF 10
Bahrain BD 0.85	Germany DM 3.50
Belgium BF 65	Greece G 5.50
Belarus L 175	Hong Kong HK 5.25
Canada C 1.25	India IN 5.50
Czech Republic KC 45	Indonesia ID 1.50
Denmark DK 1.50	Italy I 3.00
Dubai D 8.50	Japan Y 100.00
Egypt E 5.50	Korea S 150
Estonia K 20	Latvia L 1.50
Finland FM 11	Lithuania LT 1.50
France FF 10	Luxembourg LF 55
Germany DM 3.50	Malaysia M 2.50
Greece G 5.50	Mexico M 1.50
	Netherlands G 4.00
	Norway NK 15
	Oman O 1.50
	Pakistan P 70
	Poland Z 5.50
	Portugal P 200
	Qatar Q 8.50
	Romania R 1.50
	Russia R 1.50
	Saudi Arabia S 1.50
	Slovakia SK 55
	Slovenia S 1.250
	Spain P 225
	Sweden SK 15
	Switzerland SF 5
	Thailand B 50
	Turkey TL 100.00
	USA US 2.75
	Zimbabwe Z 5.00

# The Guardian INTERNATIONAL

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR 48,508

## Outlook

### The man who loves Serbs



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## Sport

### England cricket selection ends in farce

This section back page

## City warns of impact on trade deficit Consumer body recommends total avoidance

# EU backs beef ban

Owen Bowcott, Richard Thomas, Stephen Bates and Geoffrey Gibbs

**P**OLITICAL reverberations over the BSE crisis echoed around the globe yesterday as European Union countries slammed the door on British cattle and the World Health Organisation summoned an emergency meeting on the disease.

With the Consumers' Association advising people to stop eating beef altogether, experts in the City warned that the drop in exports would widen the trade deficit while paying compensation could blow a hole in the Government's finances.

New Zealand, Singapore and Finland yesterday joined Britain's EU neighbours, including Spain, France and Germany, in boycotting beef because of fears that it could transmit the new strain of Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease.

As the ban spread, the United Kingdom appeared to be on a collision course with other EU member states. Bowing to political pressure, the European Commission yesterday accepted that member countries could stop imports unilaterally on health grounds, pending a decision to be taken on Monday by scientific and veterinary representatives from all member states. It had previously stated that such bans might be illegal.

By last night 12 EU countries had banned beef from Britain with only Ireland, which imports scarcely any British beef, and Denmark not formally doing so.

The loss of beef exports, currently worth 550 million a year, and replacement with imported meat would add £1 billion to the UK's trade deficit, according to Adam Cole, an economist at brokers James Capel. But if all cattle were slaughtered, making Britain reliant on imported

milk, the effect would be closer to £6 billion.

Industry experts said last night that a more immediate concern was the cost of compensating farmers in the event of the slaughter of the entire cattle stock. Most economists agreed the bill would be between £8 billion and £12 billion at current market prices.

In its advice, the Consumers' Association warned that those "who want to avoid the risk of BSE have no choice but to cut out beef and beef products from their diet. There is currently an unquantifiable risk in eating beef."

Its views reflect a growing suspicion that even prime cuts of meat, as well as offal, may contain some BSE-infected material. "Some consumers will decide that the risk is acceptable, and our advice to them is that they can reduce the risk by only eating 'muscle' meat," added the association's director, Sheila McKechnie. "Until we know that BSE is eliminated from all stages of the food chain, no one can guarantee that beef is safe."

The unease within the dairy and beef-rearing community manifested itself when several hundred farmers from Devon, Cornwall, Dorset and Somerset packed into a hastily convened National Farmers Union meeting at Exeter University yesterday to voice complaints to the food minister, Angela Browning.

It would have been "indefensible" for the Government not to have made public the recommendations from its scientific advisers as soon as it did, Mrs Browning, who represents Tiverton, told them.

"It is very unfortunate if the Consumers' Association is giving that specific advice," she added. "Our scientific advisers are very clear that if they had felt the need to give that advice they would have done so."

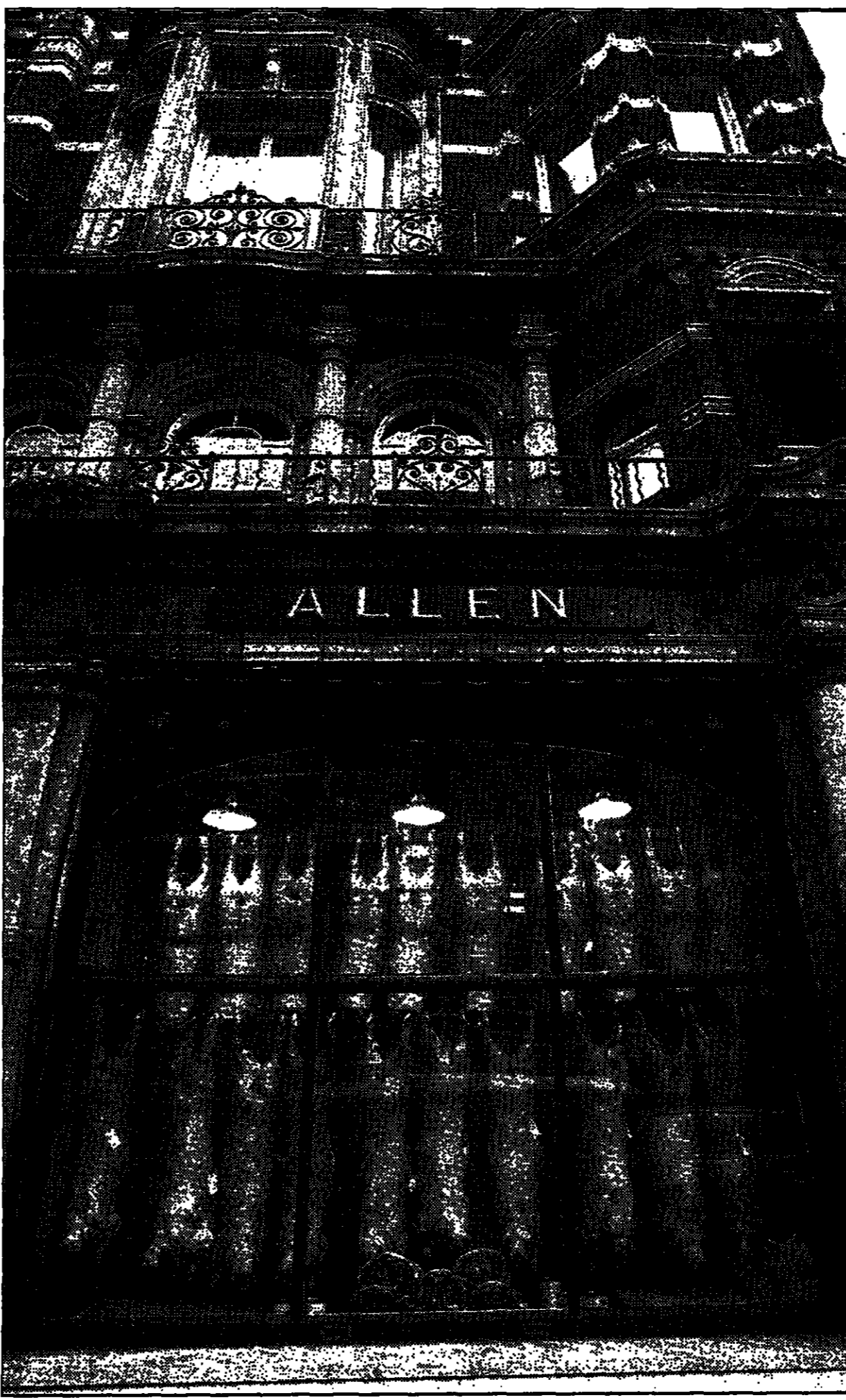
Richard McDonald, director general elect of the NFU, said calls for mass slaughter were "ludicrous, unnecessary and alarmist", and condemned the actions of European governments that have banned British beef.

But the World Health Organisation's European Centre for Environment and Health, in Holland, said yesterday it would call an immediate meeting of international experts to assess the public health risks of BSE.

At the same time, WHO experts in Geneva said that there was no scientific justification for countries to stop import bans on British beef.

Dr Lindsay Martinez, head of WHO's division of emerging diseases, reassured British and other consumers that the risk of contracting a new fatal degenerative brain disease by eating products such as roast beef and steak was "absolutely remote".

The cheaper beef which the majority of people have



Carcasses of prime lamb fill the window display at Allen the butcher's in Mayfair, London. PHOTOGRAPH: GARRY WEASER

## Banned

Countries which have banned British beef pending EC and/or UN decision.

- |             |                 |
|-------------|-----------------|
| - Austria   | - Italy         |
| - Australia | - Japan         |
| - Belgium   | - Jordan        |
| - Canada    | - New Zealand   |
| - Cyprus    | - Portugal      |
| - France    | - Singapore     |
| - Germany   | - South Africa  |
| - Greece    | - Spain         |
| - Holland   | - Sweden        |
|             | - United States |



Beef crisis, page 5; How truth was butchered, page 13

## Chefs see crisis as retribution for cheapening the 'king of meat' to feed the masses

'Maybe the one good thing will be that the price goes up,' Angella Johnson reports

**"B**EEF is a luxury food — it's not supposed to be factory farmed so that people can buy it cheaply," says Rowley Leigh, a top chef.

Mr Leigh, who presides over the kitchen at Ken-

sington Place, West London, claims he is not a food snob. He just thinks beef is the king of meat and should only be available to those prepared to pay a little extra.

"There is nothing like a good steak from a bullock which has been grass-reared and allowed to roam like a pig, and it should be allowed to grow slowly and mature for about three years to be full of flavour."

The cheaper beef which

been buying in supermarkets only gives bullocks a bad name. "Maybe one good thing to come out of this BSE scare will be that the price goes up and we will only be able to buy good quality beef," says Mr Leigh.

Shaun Hill, the head chef at the Merchant House in Ludlow, Shropshire, believes there was an eerie inevitability about BSE: a kind of biblical retribution for taking a great British Sunday lunch and turning it into leather.

"I think it's been a long time coming," says Mr Hill. "People close their eyes to the most disgusting aspect of food production and it is about time they were made to think about what is done in the name of cheap meat."

In his view, there is nothing like a succulent "well marbled" piece of roast beef just waiting to be cut.

"It's always been the central meat in the British diet, but some of the stuff on offer in recent years has lacked the flavour and wonderful texture that makes

this the most satisfying of meats."

Mr Hill hopes that, after the knee-jerk reaction during which people cut down on beef consumption, they will be more discerning about where their meat comes from.

"Maybe this will be just the beginning, and afterwards we will start to think about the possible dangers to our health from intensive pork production and battery chickens."

Lindsay Bareham, a food writer, believes beef will

now be replaced by other meats. "I think we will see more variety in the kind of mince being offered for example," she says.

"It will also have a dramatic effect on the sale of things like burgers and other processed meats, which I now won't let my children eat. It's really going to change the way we view food — with more people demanding to know where things come from and being prepared to pay more for organically produced products."

## Paralysed rugby player sues referee for £1 million

Claire Dyer Legal Correspondent

**A**RUGBY player paralysed for life at the age of 17 after a scrum collapsed is taking the referee to the High Court on Monday, in the first case of its kind to reach the courts in Britain.

Ben Smoldon, now aged 21, former captain of Sutton Coldfield Colts, is seeking more than £1 million compensation from the referee, Michael Nolan, and an opposing player, Thomas Whitworth, for injuries sustained during a Sutton Coldfield v. Burton upon Trent Colts match in October 1991.

Edward Grayson, a barrister and expert on the law of sport, said: "If this case succeeds, the consequences for referees in the Rugby Football Union will be horrendous. Who's going to referee a match if they're going to be sued if there's an accident?"

Mr Grayson, author of *Sport and the Law*, added: "Schools and schoolmasters who in the past have taken on a voluntary basis, could be at risk as well. It could also make it more difficult for schools to get insurance."

Mr Smoldon was playing in his usual position as hooker when a scrum ordered by Mr Nolan collapsed for the third time and he broke his neck. He accuses Mr Nolan, a member of the Staffordshire Society of Rugby Football Union Referees, of failing to enforce the laws of the game and properly to control the match so as not to expose players to unnecessary risk.

He alleges that Mr Nolan committed numerous breaches of the rugby laws and allowed scrums to collapse repeatedly.

The referee is accused of negligence in failing to explain to the front rows how

scrums should be set, failing to stop players deliberately collapsing scrums or to order off-offending players, and not being physically fit enough to control the match properly.

Mr Smoldon's son of Sutton Coldfield's chairman, Roger Smoldon, claims that a touch judge and first aid man at the match, Robert Shingles, warned Mr Nolan that someone was physically fit enough to control the match properly.

Mr Whitworth, a prop forward for Burton upon Trent Colts, is accused of causing the front rows of the third scrum to collapse.

Papers filed in the lawsuit allege that the Burton player willfully and repeatedly caused scrums to collapse during the match, and that he disengaged from the third scrum suddenly and without warning, causing another player to fall to the ground, taking Mr Smoldon with him.

If a judge decides that both men were negligent, liability for the damages will be apportioned between them.

Mr Smoldon's solicitor, Terry Lee, a partner in the south London firm, Evill and Coleman, said his client's injuries were worth "well over £1 million."

Mr Smoldon, now a philosophy student, is paralysed from the shoulders down, and has no bowel or bladder control. He is also prone to upper respiratory tract infections.

He suffers from depression as a result of his injuries, loss of his independence, and inability to take part in sports.

The RFU is backing the referee, who is represented by Davis Arnold Cooper, solicitors to the RFU's insurers.

The RFU said its solicitors had advised it not to discuss the case before it came to court.

In a similar case in Canada, the referee was exonerated, and a case in Australia was settled out of court.

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'Today is the start of recovery'

Erland Clouston

THE headmaster of Dunblane primary school promised yesterday that it would recover from the shooting in which 16 pupils and one teacher died.

A still emotional Ron Taylor spoke briefly to journalists outside the school, which was reopening after Thomas Hamilton's attack on the primary one gym class last Wednesday.

Police hovered in the background as a steady stream of often tearful parents and relatives delivered children for a half-day of informal classes. Many adults took up the invitation to spend at least part of the morning in the school.

The bullet-riddled assembly hall where Hamilton shot teacher Gwen Mayor and her pupils remained cordoned off. Mr Taylor said: "The evil that came last week is gone. The children return to school today, and it is a very important day for us because today marks the beginning of our recovery. And you mark my words: we will recover. I promise you that."

low as normal a routine as possible. They are obviously answering any questions children have in relation to the incident and are dealing with it as sensitively as possible.

Earlier, Mr Robbins had warned that children were at risk of displaying signs of stress. Mr Taylor promised to highlight more encouraging symptoms.

"I've been walking around the school this morning and I came across a group of children who were laughing and joking together. I went round another corner and I found another couple of kids who were arguing. Normality is returning."

Police said it was likely there would be a guard on the school until the Easter holidays began. "We want to provide an element of security, to manage discreetly the worries of the children." None of the policemen on duty is understood to be armed.

The council spokeswoman said that the long-term security of the primary school would be decided by the new Strirling council which takes office next month. The Dunblane Fund has passed the £100,000 mark. Michael Forsyth, the Scottish Secretary, has promised to consider help for a proposal to commemorate the victims with a community hall and sports centre. The idea was yesterday of lauding a list of £400,000 stolen by her former employer, Asil Nadir, from his public company, Polly Peck International.



Elizabeth Forsyth, former aide to Asil Nadir, is escorted from the Old Bailey yesterday after being found guilty of handling stolen goods. PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF MOORE

Verdict on aide puts Nadir in the frame

Dan Atkinson

THE former banker Elizabeth Forsyth was convicted at the Old Bailey yesterday of laundering almost £400,000 stolen by her former employer, Asil Nadir, from his public company, Polly Peck International.

Forsyth, aged 59, from Great Dunmow, Essex, was remanded in custody by Mr Justice Tucker for pre-sentence reports. Rejecting a defence application for bail, he warned her to be under "no illusion as to the likely nature of the sentence". She will be sentenced at the Old Bailey, probably in three weeks' time.

Her conviction marks the end of the first full-dress criminal trial resulting from the 1990 collapse of Nadir's Polly Peck trading empire with debts estimated at more than £2 billion.

Now the spotlight shifts back to Nadir, who fled Britain in spring 1995 claiming he could not expect a fair trial on the £30 million-worth of fraud and theft charges upon which he had been arraigned. Forsyth's conviction implicates him in stealing money from his London-based East Mediterranean electronics and sportsfashions group, and supports the Crown's claim that there was criminality at the heart of Polly Peck.

It is believed that Nadir's sophisticated lifestyle may tempt him to cross a frontier into a European country, from which he can be extradited. Forsyth met Nadir when, during the mid-1980s, she was working in the Mayfair office of Citibank, with special responsibility for wealthy clients. In 1987, she joined him as personal financial officer, although she was never an employee of Polly Peck.

Son born to Ms Chirac

Alex Duval Smith in Paris

THE Elysée Palace crèche yesterday gained a new recruit when a baby boy was born to Claude Chirac, who is single and works for her father, France's president.

The presidential palace would not confirm the name of the father of the 7lb 9oz boy, who was born in Paris at 11am. But he is widely known to be Thierry Key, a former French judo champion.

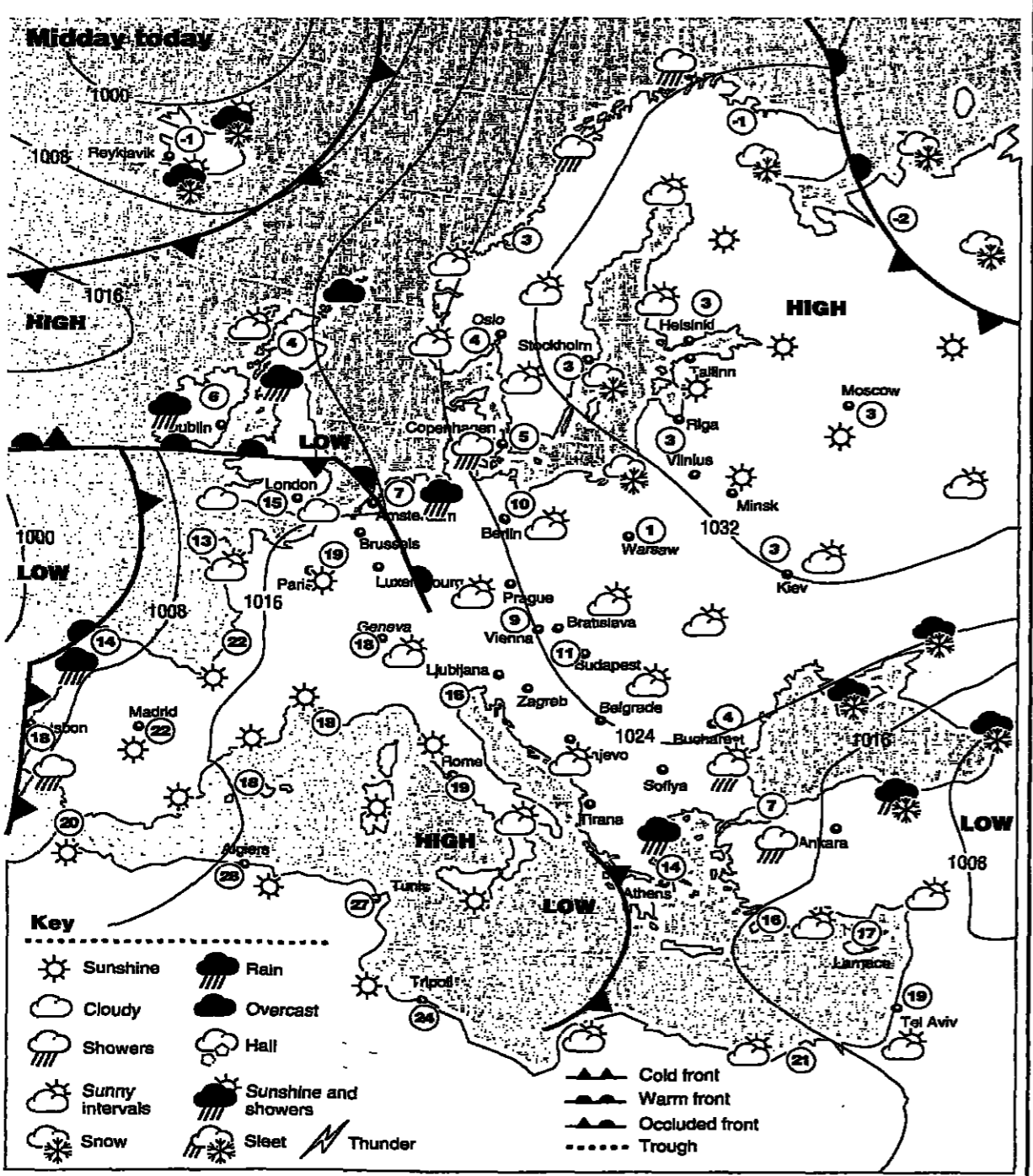
The child was born as President Jacques Chirac was presenting a Légion d'Honneur to his former press attaché, Lydia Gerbaud, who was replaced by Ms Chirac last May.

"You will understand that I shan't be staying long," Mr Chirac reportedly told Mrs Gerbaud, before departing for the hospital to have plans to be replaced by Ms Chirac last May.

Ms Chirac has said she wants to combine her role as communications adviser with having children. Although the boy is Mr Chirac's first biological grandchild, his adoptive daughter, a Vietnamese boat refugee called Anh Dao, gave birth to a daughter in 1994.

Unlike Anh Dao, Ms Chirac is not married and does not appear to have plans to be married. This makes her typical of her generation - according to European Union statistics released yesterday, the French are second only to the Swedes in not wishing to get married. In 1997, she joined him very close to her father since 1953, when her husband, Philippe Habert killed himself.

The weather in Europe



Forecast for the cities table with columns for city, today's weather, and tomorrow's weather.

Around the world table showing weather forecasts for various global locations.

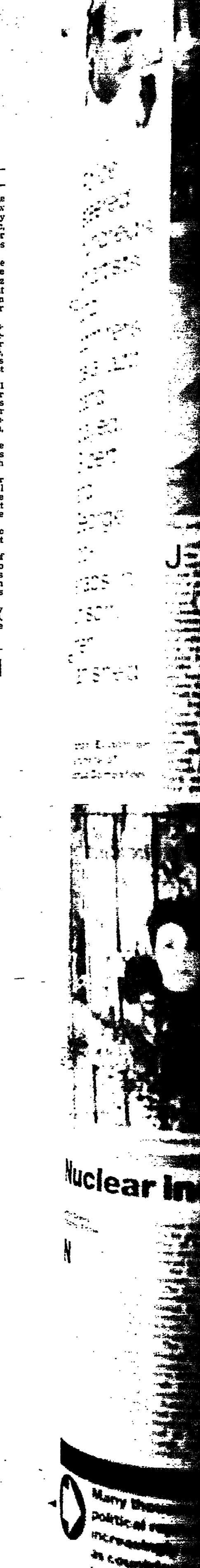
European weather outlook: High pressure over Russia still controls the weather and should maintain the mostly dry conditions. Today will be fine and bright in many places with sunny spells and only scattered showers, although Denmark and the Norwegian west coast will become cloudy and damp with bursts of rain and hill snow. Max temp 1-5C.

Television and radio - Saturday

7:00am BBC News, 7:30am Play of the Week, 8:00am Breakfast, 9:00am News, 10:00am News, 11:00am News, 12:00pm News, 1:00pm News, 2:00pm News, 3:00pm News, 4:00pm News, 5:00pm News, 6:00pm News, 7:00pm News, 8:00pm News, 9:00pm News, 10:00pm News, 11:00pm News, 12:00am News.

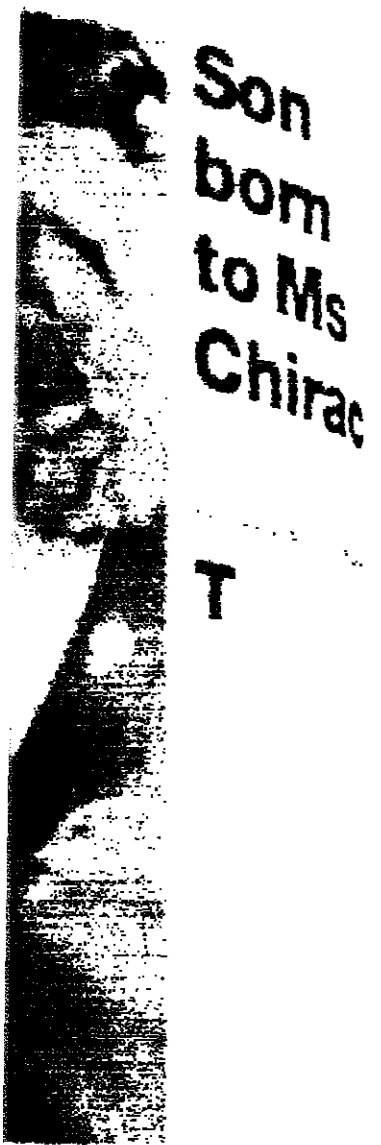
Television and radio - Sunday

7:00am BBC News, 7:30am Play of the Week, 8:00am Breakfast, 9:00am News, 10:00am News, 11:00am News, 12:00pm News, 1:00pm News, 2:00pm News, 3:00pm News, 4:00pm News, 5:00pm News, 6:00pm News, 7:00pm News, 8:00pm News, 9:00pm News, 10:00pm News, 11:00pm News, 12:00am News.



Nuclear In... Mary... Political... The... between...





Son  
bom  
to Ms  
Chirac

T



Police steered hundreds of artists and admirers as a jazz band played. Gilbert and George took snaps in unison, then vanished

Michael Ellison on the funeral of Joshua Compston



The artists Gilbert and George pay their respects at the funeral of Joshua Compston (top left) in east London yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: KIPPA MATTHEWS

**JOSHUA COMPSTON**, the 25-year-old impresario who spent much of his life trying to turn art into a media event, came as close as he could have hoped with his funeral yesterday. Mounted police steered hundreds of artists, friends and admirers from the narrow east London street where he had his home and studio while a four-piece jazz band played *When The Saints Go Marching In*. Pall-bearers, among them Jay Jopling, the Turner Prize-winning artist Damien Hirst's dealer, wore red silk bands on their left arms. They struggled with the coffin, painted turquoise with rust-coloured flowers by his friends Gavin Turk and Gary Hume, as they passed the Comedy

Café. Its walls sport portraits of Dennis the Menace saying: "Jokers only", and Desperate Dan advising: "Rock and roll, heh, heh." Compston, the son of a high court judge, died a fortnight ago when he inhaled his vomit after visiting an exhibition of the work of the late Jean-Michel Basquiat at the Serpentine Gallery, London. Part of a main road was closed for the funeral procession for the maverick, unknown outside the circle which has made London the centre of the contemporary art world, and who was described by a friend as the most courageous and most overbearingly egotistical person he had ever met. Compston's role was to draw attention to, rather than to create, art.

When the mourners completed the half-mile trek to Christ Church and All Saints, Shoreditch, it was for the most conventional of services embroidered with a few fringe details. Gilbert and George, who won the Turner Prize in 1986, slipped in just before the service started and performed like a diminished firing squad, taking snaps of the coffin in unison as it was carried out afterwards. Then they disappeared. Count Indigo, the easy listening singer, moved among the hordes wearing FN badges (for Compston's 'Factual Nonsense gallery'). "I don't think he would have had a lot of time for this," said the singer of the former Divinity A level student and new art champion. "He got a lot done for

one so young and it's very rare to find someone of that age with his clarity of vision." Peter Blake, the Royal Academician who will never be allowed to forget that he designed the cover for the Beatles' Sgt Pepper album, said: "I had known him as a friend since he was about 14, rather than through art, though I was an enthusiast of his and a supporter. "I think that what's so interesting with this generation of artists is that they are all so supportive," he added, pausing to admire a piece of fading Pop Art on

Commercial Road. "They all look after each other. You didn't have that with my generation, I've never seen anything like it before. Joshua was very much part of that and, looking back, you don't really realise it until it's too late." Then it was back to Charlotte Road, home of Factual Nonsense, skips and black bin liners. There, in the Bricklayer's Arms, friends reminisced and contemplated posters advertising events Compston would miss: the rest of the pub film club's Luc Besson season and next Wednesday's table football competition.

# IRA dashes hope of new ceasefire

David Sharrock  
Ireland Correspondent

**T**HE IRA yesterday rejected John Major's Northern Ireland elections, dashing hopes of a resumption of its ceasefire, as another republican paramilitary group announced that its units were back "on standby". In an atmosphere of increasing tension a senior IRA source, quoted by BBC Northern Ireland, said that the election proposals "do not contain the dynamic necessary to carry all parties forward into meaningful peace negotiations free from preconditions." The statement, issued on the eve of Sinn Féin's annual conference in Dublin, effectively rejected demands for a reinstatement of the 17-month IRA truce in order to give its political wing a place at the all-party talks starting on June 10. The Ulster Unionist leader, David Trimble, is expected to make a hard-line speech today, saying that the IRA's Canary Wharf bomb conclusively proves there is no prospect of an exclusively peaceful commitment by the republican movement. Mr Trimble is expected to urge John Major to end the common travel area between Britain and Ireland and to initiate a security clampdown on the land and sea frontier.

six counties". The Marxist INLA has never officially called a ceasefire.

Mr McQuillan denied that a feud was taking place between two rival factions of the INLA, itself the product of a republican split. Five of his colleagues had been attacked in the past few days by a handful of individuals purporting to represent themselves as a faction of the INLA.

He conceded that two of these individuals were former INLA members, but when asked if one was the former chief-of-staff, said he had no idea of their rank.

The INLA statement was released by the group formerly led by Gino Gallagher, who was shot dead in West Belfast in January. Gallagher's supporters were accused of retaliating by beating to death an INLA man at a caravan site in Bundoran, Co Donegal, and then with the murder last week of nine-year-old Barbara McAlorum, who was hit when gunmen fired through the windows of her home in North Belfast. The attackers meant to kill somebody else.

Yesterday's statement said: "We cannot look on idly as the British cynically draw out and fudge attempts at a negotiated settlement while the full oppressive apparatus of the state is employed against the nationalist working class."

A number of others have been injured in the tit-for-tat shootings between the rival INLA factions, and police fear the feuding could escalate.

The faction once headed by Gallagher claims it has the support of INLA prisoners in the Republic and Northern Ireland, as well as the backing of their political wing, the Irish Republican Socialist Party.

The rival faction, according to police sources, is made up of dissidents expelled last year for wanting to call a permanent ceasefire.

The INLA has a bloody history of internal conflict and during one period in the early 1980s a dozen people were killed as a result of feuding.



The artist Sue Webster's contribution to Hanging Picnic, organised by Compston in east London. PHOTOGRAPH: RICHARD GOTT

## Nuclear incident was foreseen

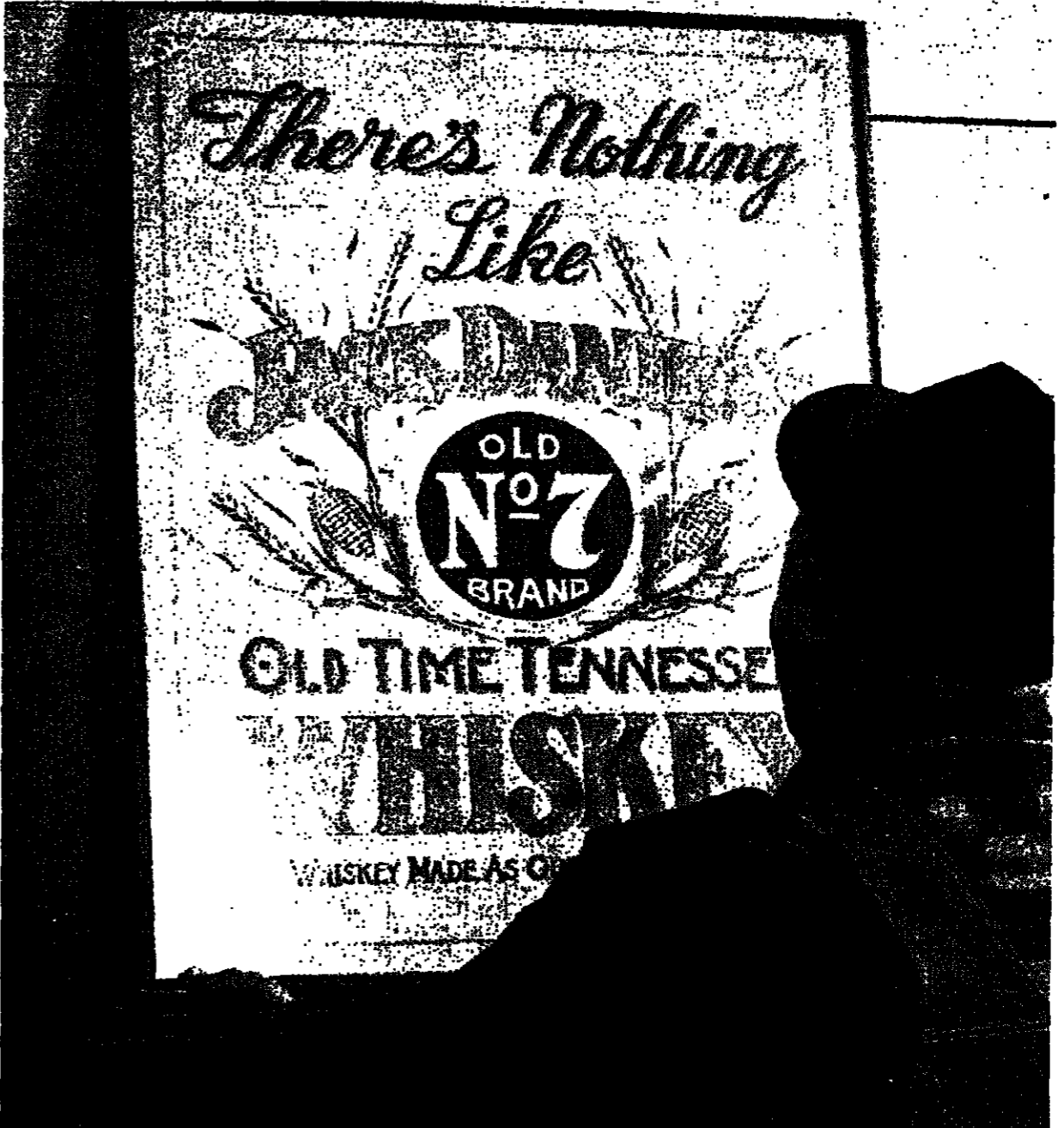
Simon Beavis  
Industrial Editor

**N**UCLEAR safety inspectors had called for limits to be put on a controversial system of refuelling reactors well before an incident in January led to the practice being suspended at two of the country's most modern atomic power stations. An internal industry document, seen by the Guardian, reveals that the Nuclear Installations Inspectorate had raised concerns about the ability of advanced gas cooled reactors (AGRs) to withstand the strain of "on-load refuelling."

On-load refuelling — putting fresh fuel rods into the reactor without stopping electricity generation — is a key way of boosting revenues from the stations and could be crucial to attracting investors to the £2.5 billion sale this summer. The document, drafted last December, discusses the potential regulatory risks confronting the reactors, all of which are lined up for privatisation. The document shows that Nuclear Electric was forced to consider changing its long-term strategy for refuelling at high power because of the concerns of inspectors. It emerged earlier this week that on-load refuelling at both Heysham 2, in Lancashire, and at Torness, near Edinburgh, had been suspended pending completion of a

safety inquiry. This was called after a 70 ft fuel rod became stuck in a distorted channel during on-load refuelling at Heysham on January 22. The investigation is looking into whether the incident was caused by an inherent design fault or was a freak occurrence. Nuclear Electric has said that the incident was the first of its kind and was therefore likely to be "a one-off". The NII confirmed last night that it had raised worries about a specific component of AGR stations and its long-term ability to sustain on-load refuelling. But it stressed that the incident in January was unconnected to its earlier worries. The document identifies

Heysham 2 and Torness, stations of the same design, as the key problems. It says that critical to the case for low and high power refuelling is the "integrity" of a component of the fuel rod called the plug unit. It suggests that modifications could be made, but adds: "A view is required as to whether such a modification route is to be pursued and on what timescale. This will allow a capital expenditure to be identified whilst allowing the benefits of high power refuelling to be claimed." It admits that this could put in question high power refuelling at Hinkley Point B, Somerset, and Hunterston B in Scotland, where on-load fuel changes are still being undertaken.



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JACK DANIEL'S TENNESSEE WHISKEY

Many thousands of apparently genuine victims of torture and political repression from around the world are finding an increasingly cold reception on arrival in the European Union, as countries become less willing or able to distinguish between job seeking illegal immigrants and genuine victims.

Foreign Focus Page 7



# 4 BEEF CRISIS Ministers warned on cattle feed in 1980

Owen Bowcott, Paul Brown and Alan Watkins on how advice was ignored

THE Government was specifically warned about the severe dangers of transmitting new diseases to humans through processed animal waste in a Royal Commission report four months after the Conservatives took office in 1979.

The sequence of events believed to have been responsible for creating BSE in cattle and the new strain of Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease in humans was envisaged as a potential hazard for the rapidly developing food industry.

Yet within less than a year, according to internal Ministry of Agriculture consultation papers from 1980, the Government was urging that hygiene rules governing the feeding of animal protein to cattle should be subject to a deregulation drive.

The initial warning came in the report of the Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution, published in September 1979 and unearched yesterday by the journal *Science in Parliament*.

"The major problem encountered in this recycling process [involving animal waste] is the risk of transmitting disease-bearing pathogens to stock and thence to humans," the report warns.

One of the members of the commission was Sir Richard Southwood, who has continued to warn about recycling animal protein into feed.

Despite those first warnings, the Ministry of Agriculture consultation paper records that ministers were in favour of dropping proposals drafted in 1978 for tight licence conditions for processing animal protein.

Under the proposals, the paper said: "Licences would be issued only if the process itself was capable of killing salmonellas and other disease organisms, and the layout, construction, and operation of the processing plant were such that re-contamination of the finished product was prevented."

"Instead new proposals were drafted, referring to the 'current economic climate' (in 1980). Ministers said it would be better for the industry to 'determine how best to produce a high quality

product, and that the role of government should be restricted to prescribing a standard for the product and to enforcing observance of that standard."

As a result the earlier licence conditions were not imposed and the more self-regulatory regime permitted. Three cabinet ministers signed the Diseases of Animals (Protein Processing) Order of 1981 which set out the rules allowing waste animal parts to be fed to cattle.

They were Peter Walker, then minister of agriculture, George Younger, the Scottish secretary, and Nicholas Edwards, the Welsh secretary.

The Ministry of Agriculture yesterday denied that changes in the regulations caused the BSE outbreak which occurred four years later. The removal of chemical solvents from the process for industrial reasons was the chief problem, a spokesman insisted.

Solvents were dropped because they had proved to be dangerous following chemical plant disaster at Flixborough, on Humberside, in the 1970s, the ministry said. No regulatory changes were needed for manufacturers to withdraw them.

Meanwhile a scientist who claimed he had strong evidence that BSE had passed into humans four years ago has said his warnings were ignored.

Dr Robert Perry, a consultant at Newcastle General Hospital who specialised in research on Alzheimer's disease, was described as having "dangerous views" in Public Health Laboratory Service documents seen by the Guardian.

The laboratory service yesterday denied it had ever received any evidence from him.

Sir Richard Southwood, professor of zoology at Oxford university, yesterday criticised farmers for continuing to use infected back stocks of cattle feed long after the Government banned its sale.

"They were still using up old stock, either fattened for export or used for the production of milk. The number of infected cattle born in 1980 must have been because of the feed."

## Industry facing problems over unwanted cattle

Paul Brown Environment Correspondent

THE Government and the beef and dairy industries face a huge problem of what to do with millions of unwanted cattle following a collapse of the export market and slump in home beef sales.

There are more than 11 million animals in the United Kingdom's beef and dairy herds — all in an interdependent cycle of breeding, milking or fattening for slaughter.

The possibility of killing the entire herd is regarded as impractical by the industry, partly because of what to do with the carcasses.

But Tony Bailey, policy director at the Cattle and Sheep Raisers Association, said: "The enormity of this problem is just beginning to strike. It is mind-boggling in its implications and complexity. Whatever happens, the industry is in for serious shake-ups."

The dairy industry, where most of the BSE cases have

been recorded, is pretty self-contained, but cows have to have calves to produce milk. They are either fattened for beef or exported for veal.

The beef herds are bred to put on muscle and weight, and are often BSE-free as they have no contact with infected dairy herds. But the market for many of these beef cattle has disappeared and no decision has been made on what to do with a surplus of possibly hundreds of thousands of beasts.

Mr Bailey added: "If this matter is left to the market a lot of people are going to go bust rather quickly, and not just farmers — a whole industry serving them would go bust too. The Government is rather rapidly going to have to think of some way of compensating people for the mess they have got us in to."

"The industry has done what the Government has told us. We accepted the reassurances and now we are in this impossible bind. The Government has the responsibility to resolve the problem."



Farmers are turning to helplines for advice as they struggle to cope with the collapse of the beef market which has seen prices fall by £100

PHOTOGRAPH OWEN HUMPHRIES

## Samaritans on alert over suicide fears for farmers

John Mullin and Geoff Gibbs on measures to counter despair in those hit by 'British farming's blackest week'

THE Ministry of Agriculture may ask volunteers from the Samaritans to staff telephone helplines for cattle farmers amid fears of an increase in the industry's suicide rate following the Government's BSE admission.

Agriculture minister Angela Browning, MP for Tiverton, a farming constituency, announced at a National Farmers Union meeting in Exeter that one line had been set up already.

The ministry will see what the response is over the weekend before deciding whether to enlist the Samaritans officially.

There are five permanent staff on the ministry helpline, and a further eight have been drafted in since the Government's shift of position on Wednesday. Officials said yesterday they were struggling to cope with the increase in calls.

Nick Read, a vicar who works in rural stress issues for the National Farmers Union, welcomed the idea of calling in the Samaritans. "I have had several calls already from people terrified about what the announcements might mean for their businesses."

"It is important that we gear up now to deal with an increase in suicidal feelings, because it is vital that farmers are able to talk through their worries, even if it is simply to let off steam."

More farmers kill themselves than in any other occupation — as many as three a week, the Samaritans estimate. Although the the suicide tally among

farmers and farm workers in England and Wales is 983 for 1980 to 1990, the true figure is much higher, as coroners are often reluctant to record suicide verdicts.

Mr Read said: "Those who are particularly vulnerable will be those who are already depressed, and those who specialise in cattle and so are unable to switch into other areas."

"The news of CJD will be an additional factor, and perhaps enough to push some over the edge."

Malcolm Whitaker, who helped set up a telephone helpline for farmers in Gloucestershire in 1991, said the possibility of sui-

cide will have increased considerably in the last week.

"The reality of it won't dawn on people for some time, but you can't underestimate the devastation this will cause in the farming industry."

"It's the blackest week for British agriculture since I don't know when — far worse than the foot and mouth outbreak in 1967/68. An absolute scene of dereliction is before us."

The South-west regional headquarters of the National Farmers Union in Exeter said it had already had one farmer on the telephone in tears and others calling in very upset.

Angela Browning has told Exeter farmers of helpline



Angela Browning has told Exeter farmers of helpline

## European Commission in favour of national bans

Stephen Bates in Brussels

THE banning of British beef by individual nations or health organisations on the grounds won the support of the European Commission yesterday in the face of mounting political pressure from member states.

Last night it looked increasingly likely that the commission would come down on the side of banning British beef exports throughout the European Union — or at least imposing much more stringent conditions — after its scientific advisers report on Monday.

The move will open the way to a clash with Britain before next Friday's inter-governmental conference.

But in a situation where political conditions outrank science, it was clear in Brussels yesterday that the British government's attitude to Europe had left it with few friends when it needs their support on such a highly sensitive issue.

By yesterday all member states except Denmark and Ireland had joined the ban, pending the commission ruling next week. Italy, Spain, Luxembourg, Austria, Belgium, Finland, Greece, Holland and Portugal joined in Brussels, Germany and Sweden in the ban.

The commission's attempt to remain neutral by deferring a decision until it receives recommendations from its committee of scientific experts was in danger of being superseded by events, not least the sudden intervention of Jacques Santer, the commission president, on the side of consumer pressure for a ban.

Mr Santer told a press conference in Paris, where he was meeting President Chirac and Alain Juppé, the French prime minister, that the French decision to enforce a ban was "a completely normal consequence of the revelations which have been made in Britain."

British veterinary experts met their counterparts from the other member states in Brussels all day yesterday to explain the British findings.

Monday's meeting of the veterinary and scientific committee will be able to take a decision under EU qualified majority voting procedures, which means that Britain has no veto.

Any decision then endorsed by the European Commission would be binding on all member states.

It was being pointed out that the action of British local authorities in banning beef in schools and homes for the elderly left the commission with very little alternative.

The commission is in a difficult position in claiming it wants scientific advice because it is disregarding experts by maintaining a ban on growth promoting hormones in beef in the face of a dispute with the US.

As the ban spread, commission officials reversed their suggestion that such steps could be illegal and claimed member states had a right to introduce temporary bans on public health grounds.

They had previously said that states could act only after referring to the commission.

Gerry Kieley, the commission's agriculture spokesman, said: "Member states have a legal right to take safeguard action should they feel on animal, human or plant health grounds that there is a threat."

"There is no obligation to notify us in advance."

Mr Santer's intervention appeared decisively to swing the commission towards a ban, though there were attempts to downplay his remarks as no more than a routine expression of concern.

Interpretation swung on a translation of the French word for "normal" and whether it meant more than something that was not unexpected.

An official said: "This is a very important public health question which concerns us all and Mr Santer was simply expressing his understanding of that concern... Mr Santer is a calm man and he tries to bear in mind the sensitivities of the citizens."

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## Ministers weigh options in face of political fall-out

Rebecca Smithers Political Correspondent

JOHN Major was yesterday being kept apprised of developments in the spiralling beef crisis, aware of the political fall-out and the damage it will do to his government.

Ministers will this weekend consider how to restore confidence in beef, with options ranging from selective destruction of cattle to the slaughter of all 11 million animals in beef and dairy herds.

"Can we still trust them?" the Daily Express demanded to know on the day after the Government for the first time admitted a link between mad cow disease and its human equivalent, Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease.

Trust and confidence are now set to be the main issues on which the Government will be challenged as the crisis unfolds. Questions will continue to be asked about the Government's failure to tackle the problem of BSE when there were clear warning signals.

In the past few days the tide of public and political opinion has turned against the Government and Britain, with more and more countries banning British beef and growing fears of a widespread boycott at home. Ministers insist they have acted in good faith based on scientific advice.

On Monday, Stephen Dorrell, the Health Secretary, will tell MPs the Government's conclusions on the safety of beef for children.

Scientists advising the Government will meet this weekend to answer the crucial

question: are children more at risk?

The long-term fate of the industry could rest on their decision, which ministers have promised to accept, however destructive to commercial interests.

On Wednesday during the Commons debate opposition MPs demanded assurances on the nature of the risks. Tory MPs expressed their concern that consumers would "vote with their purses" and destroy the beef industry.

Later, an analysis by the Guardian showed that of the

32 MPs declaring ownership of farms in the parliamentary register of interests, 28 are Tories, including Tim Boswell, a junior agriculture minister.

Harriet Harman, the shadow health secretary, yesterday made clear that Labour would press the Government to restore confidence with "complete openness."

"The best course of action is to end the bland reassurances that fail to convince consumers and to restore public confidence by openness and tough action."

Stephen Dorrell: statement on beef safety for children



Stephen Dorrell: statement on beef safety for children

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# Secret drug tests GP struck off

Edward Pilkington

**A** GOVERNMENT health adviser who chaired a medical ethics committee was struck off the medical register yesterday for using patients as guinea pigs for drug tests without their consent.

Geoffrey Fairhurst, aged 57, who practised as a GP in St Helens, Merseyside, was found guilty by the General Medical Council's professional conduct committee of forging the signatures of four patients on consent forms. He has 28 days to appeal.

The three-day case heard that he was caught out when a practice partner, Dr David Edwards, reported him to the GMC for falsifying drug records.

After the hearing, Dr Edwards said it had been a "painful experience for all of us. The important thing, however, is that patients' rights have been protected."

Fairhurst, a former GP, was paid undisclosed sums by Glaxo Pharmaceutical and other drugs companies to carry out tests between 1988 and 1993. The trials involved beta-blockers used to treat heart complaints and other drugs for high blood pressure.

He denied six charges of serious professional misconduct and insisted he obtained consent from the four patients. He claimed they were "either wrong or not telling the truth" when they said they had given no such permission.

His barrister, Nicola Davies QC, said Dr Edwards had harboured a strong dislike for Fairhurst and pointed out there was no forensic evidence for the accusation of forged signatures.

But Sir Donald Irvine, GMC chairman, concluded that Fairhurst had behaved dishonestly and betrayed the trust placed in him by his patients, whom he put at risk. He had also damaged the confidence of the public in scientific research.

Debbie Beardmore, a former clinical assistant at the St Helens practice, told the hearing that Fairhurst had asked her to alter documents relating to trials of drugs. He had phoned her and dictated what she should say if she was questioned over any irregularities.

Ms Beardmore admitted she had been Fairhurst's lover, but denied her evidence was motivated by a desire for revenge after he ended the affair.

Fairhurst, from Warrington, left the hearing with his wife. He declined to comment.



Anusc Castiglioni, of the Teatro Gioco Vita from Milan, preparing an exhibition of shadow puppetry at Brighton Museum which starts on Thursday

PHOTOGRAPH: ROGER BAMBER

# Life or death decision goes to Lord Advocate

Hospital and relatives seek permission to halt artificial feeding of Scottish woman who has been unconscious for four years. Erlend Clouston and Clare Dyer report

**T**HE fate of a 53-year-old woman who has been unconscious for four years hinges on the willingness of Scotland's senior law officer to license the withdrawal of her life-supporting treatment.

In a landmark ruling for

the Scottish courts, five senior judges declared that a patient, if she chose, is entitled to grant medical and relatives' requests that the artificial feeding of Janet Johnstone be abandoned.

In a crucial rider, however,

the judges, headed by Lord President Hope, warned they had no right to grant Mrs Johnstone's doctors immunity from prosecution for murder.

Yesterday the management at Law Hospital, near Carlisle, Strathclyde, promised staff would continue to care for their patient until the Lord Advocate, Lord Mackay of Drummond, clarifies the legal position.

The Crown Office in Edinburgh later announced that Lord Mackay would declare his views when the case returns to Lord Cameron of

Lochbroom next month. Mrs Johnstone, of Allanton, Lanarkshire, was admitted to Law Hospital in January, 1992, after taking an overdose of sleeping pills. Shortly afterwards she lapsed into the condition known as persistent vegetative state (PVS).

Last November the hospital trust petitioned the Court of Session for the right to remove the naso-gastric feeding tubes which keep her alive — "for the sole purpose of allowing Mrs Johnstone to die peacefully with dignity and with the least distress".

The trust was supported by Mrs Johnstone's husband, Peter, and her daughter, Lynda Bryce. After hearing evidence, Lord Cameron of Lochbroom passed the case on to the Inner House of the Court of Session for legal guidance.

In a joint statement yesterday Mr Johnstone and his daughter expressed qualified approval of the judges' verdict. "We are disappointed that we do not have a final decision today but we are pleased that we appear to be moving in the right direction," they said.

"To proceed with the court case was an agonising decision for us all, but we were motivated by the knowledge, based on the best medical advice, that keeping Janet alive is futile and hopeless."

The trust said it hoped that Lord Mackay's ruling would allow it to deal with "this difficult and sensitive issue". Nurses have testified that, apart from periodic groans, Mrs Johnstone shows no signs of life. Once her tubes are withdrawn, she would be expected to die within a fortnight.

# MoD refuses to withdraw blame from crash pilots

Erlend Clouston

**T**HE Ministry of Defence has refused to withdraw its claim that the crash of an RAF Chinook which killed 25 anti-terrorism experts was due to pilot error.

Pressure for a retraction has come from members of the flight crew's families after failure of the accident inquiry to determine responsibility for the RAF's worst peacetime helicopter accident.

In a report issued yesterday, Sheriff Sir Stephen Young pointedly refused to blame flight lieutenants Jonathan Tapper and Richard Cook for the crash of their helicopter into the fog-bound Mull of Kintyre on June 2, 1994.

His neutral verdict has dismayed the widows of the Special Branch and military intelligence members aboard

the helicopter, but strengthened the pilots' families' conviction that they were badly treated by the MoD board of inquiry. A preliminary eight-month inquiry found no proof of "human failings", but a subsequent revision condemned the pilots for negligence.

An MoD spokesman said Sir Stephen's inconclusive verdict would not alter his own opinion of the cause of the accident. "The extremely thorough (RAF) inquiry eliminated any structural or mechanical malfunction... and concluded the accident was caused by the action of the two pilots," he said.

In his report, Sir Stephen notes that the MoD investigation had excluded a whole range of possibilities, including electro-magnetic interference, crew distraction, and submarine activity.

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6 WORLD NEWS

# West closes its eyes to Chechenia

James Meek in Moscow

WHILE the West, in the person of Warren Christopher, the United States secretary of state, tiptoed silently around the subject of Chechenia in Moscow yesterday, Russia's defence minister said his army's renewed offensive in the separatist region was likely to intensify next week.

With US-Russian relations strained over the question of Nato expansion, and a common front desired for today's meeting of the Bosnia contact group, Mr Christopher chose to ignore Chechenia when he met President Yeltsin and Yevgeny Primakov, the Russian foreign minister.

The Russians have been sustaining heavy losses — 28 men killed and 86 wounded in the previous 24 hours — but their forces continued to pound the rebel stronghold in the former nuclear missile base of Bamut and seemed set to begin a new attack on a village filled with civilians.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany came under strong criticism at home after his recent trip to Moscow when he declined to make an issue of the Chechen war.

Both Mr Kohl and Mr Christopher are thought to be trying to avoid giving ammunition to Mr Yeltsin's opponents in the months before the presidential elections in June, although Washington is keeping its options open on the next Russian leader.

Mr Yeltsin's main rival, the Communist leader Gennady Zyuganov, was a guest at a reception for opposition politicians hosted by Mr Christopher yesterday.

Pavel Grachev, the Russian defence minister, said yesterday that the current Russian offensive against suspected rebel bases would probably intensify in the coming week.

"South-west Chechenia has become a Dudayev stronghold," he said, referring to the separatist leader. "But we have found his bases and headquarters and I expect heavy fighting there in the coming days."

Rebels have been holding out in Bamut since the early days of the war. One defence official said yesterday that 1,000 tonnes of explosive would be needed to destroy the four former missile silos and the network of connecting tunnels where the fighters are holed up.

While there are thought to be no civilians left in residential areas of Bamut, occupied Chechen towns and villages are being subjected to ruthless Russian tactics.

When a village is suspected of harbouring rebels — many communities do, and not necessarily of their own free will — federal troops seal it off, allow a number of civilians to leave, and then bombard it with rockets and artillery.

In the past month Russian troops have done this in Serovodsk and Samashki, where civilians were massacred by interior ministry troops last year.

Yesterday Interfax news agency quoted a Russian official who had visited Samashki as saying that almost all the houses had been destroyed and 6,000 civilians were sheltering in basements, trapped by gunfire, and in a nearby forest.

Interfax reported last night that there was panic in the village of Achkol-Martan, in the Samashki area, after it was blockaded by federal troops firing sporadically into the outskirts.

# US rescues stranded Russian explorers



A RUSSIAN explorer and his sons, trapped on an ice floe and threatened by polar bears after setting out to ski across the Bering Strait from Siberia to Alaska, have been hoisted to safety by two US coast guard helicopters.

They were rescued after radioing for help about 10 miles offshore from the Chukotsk Peninsula town of Uelen, in the Russian far east.

The group became lost in a blizzard while trying to cross the narrow body of water between Russia and

Alaska, which freezes in winter.

They first sent a distress call on Wednesday to the Russian emergencies ministry.

Russian border guards contacted the US coast guard, which sent a search plane the next day.

The aircraft's crew spotted the skiers — Dr Dmitry Shparo and his two sons — stuck on an ice floe about half the size of a football pitch — about 50 yards square.

The floe was starting to splinter in the spring thaw, coast guard Captain Ken-

eth Arbogast said. The American aircraft received authorisation to enter Russian air space and dropped survival gear and a radio beacon to guide a subsequent flight by rescue helicopters to the stranded party.

The initial coast guard search flight saw one more natural hazard when crew flew over the skiers, Capt Arbogast said.

"They saw more than 20 polar bears out on the ice. As you know, polar bears and humans don't mix well."

Dr Shparo, a well-known

explorer in Russia, and his sons began their expedition from Uelen a week ago.

They planned to ski and paddle in a small rubber boat roughly 50 miles east to the remote Alaska peninsula.

Their intended crossing was at the narrowest point of the Bering Strait.

Although the three skiers had the rubber craft, the chunks and slabs of melting ice precluded travel by boat, on foot or on skis, Capt Arbogast said.

"There is really no safe way for them to cross that," he added.

On Thursday night they were picked up and flown to Nome, about 130 miles southeast of where they had bivouacked.

The rescue was complicated by winds and choppy waters, which made it more likely that the ice floe would break up.

"Those guys were riding uneasily," Capt Arbogast said.

If pronounced fit after a medical check at Nome, the three were to be left to arrange their own journey home — by more conventional means, the coast guard said. — AP.

## News in brief

### Police recapture Achille Lauro hijacker in Spain

ITALIAN and Spanish police yesterday recaptured a Palestinian convicted of hijacking the Achille Lauro cruise liner in 1985, three weeks after his escape from Italy during prison leave, the Italian authorities said.

The interior and justice ministries said Magied al-Moqli, who was serving a 30-year sentence, was seized in a joint swoop by Italian detectives and Spanish officers in the Spanish seaside town of Estepona, south-west of Malaga. He was carrying a false passport.

The United States had offered a \$2 million (£1.3 million) reward for his capture. Moqli, aged 34, was held primarily responsible at his trial in Italy for the murder of Leon Klinghoffer, a wheelchair-bound Jewish-American passenger on the ship.

Moqli escaped while on a 12-day leave from the maximum security Rebubbia jail in Rome. His failure to return on February 28 deeply embarrassed Italy and caused indignation in Washington.

Of the four Palestinians initially convicted of the hijacking only one other is still in custody. — Reuters.

### US repeals ban on firearms

The US House of Representatives voted yesterday to repeal a two-year ban on assault-style firearms, taking an election-year stand against gun control while brushing aside a veto threat from President Clinton.

The vote followed an angry debate. Tempers flared when Patrick Kennedy recalled two family assassinations: "Families like mine all across this country know all too well what the damage of weapons can do." — AP.

### Army approached

Thousands of members of the US army's elite Special Operations Forces have been approached by recruiters from the extremist militia movement, military commanders revealed yesterday, writes Jonathan Freedland in Washington. A confidential army survey found they had been wooed by rightwing paramilitaries, neo-Nazi skinheads and the Ku Klux Klan.

### Overpass falls

At least four people were killed and 19 injured when an overpass collapsed during morning rush traffic in western Jakarta yesterday, Indonesian police said. — AP.

### Security lapse

The US said checkpoint screening at Athens airport did not meet international security standards. — Reuters.



Gift of the gab... Seamus Heaney, the Nobel Prize-winning Irish poet, laughs as his medal falls to the floor just after he was named a commander of the Order of Arts and Letters — France's highest artistic distinction, writes Alex Dual Smith in Paris. The award was presented by the French culture minister, Philippe Douste-Blazy. Mr Heaney said France had been "a haven for Irish artists" since Oscar Wilde, James Joyce and Samuel Beckett. (More than enough prizes, Outlook, page 27) PHOTOGRAPH: CHARLES PLATAU

# French right faces change at top

Senior conservative figures are preparing strategies to challenge for leadership of the UDF, writes Paul Webster in Paris



Giscard d'Estaing: Expected to step down reluctantly

THE biggest shake-up in the conservative right since the founding of the multi-party Union pour la Démocratie Française (UDF) in 1978 is expected this weekend when Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, president in 1974-81, decides whether to retire as chairman.

Mr Giscard, aged 70, has used the UDF — which won 214 national assembly seats in the 1993 general election and has 12 government ministers — as the motor for a strong European policy. But the commitment to Europe appears to be faltering before a congress in Lyons on March 31 to elect a new chairman.

His original aim in uniting his Republican Independents' movement with smaller centrist and radical allies 18 years ago was to counterbalance Gaullist party power after Jacques Chirac, then prime minister, was elected secretary-general in 1974.

Two years later Mr Chirac renamed his movement the Rassemblement pour la République (RPR). It won 242 seats in 1983.

Mr Giscard, beaten in 1981 by the Socialist leader François Mitterrand, has with Mr Chirac, dominated the French right ever since. But he is expected to stand down reluctantly as UDF chief rather than face his most likely successor, the former defence minister François Léotard, aged 56, and a rival contender, the former finance minister Alain Madelin, aged 50.

Both are leaders of the Republican Party, the successor to the Republican Independents' movement, which ensured Mr Giscard an 11-year period as finance minister, during which he led rightwing opposition to Charles de Gaulle's 1969 referendum. Political wounds inflicted during tense rivaling alliances

provincial notables who control the senate and most regional councils, opposed Gaullist hesitation towards Europe, particularly during the 1992 Maastricht referendum. Mr Giscard, an MP and chairman of the Aivergne regional council, maintained strict control over the UDF, despite internal opposition led by Mr Léotard.

Although he was at first considered Mr Giscard's political heir, Mr Léotard publicly campaigned for a younger leadership before backing the Gaullist prime minister, Edouard Balladur, in last year's presidential race. This raised the possibility that he will seek new rightwing alliances if elected.

The next UDF chief could have difficulty reinvigorating the party's commitment to EU political and economic unity if Mr Giscard concentrates on local politics. It is the only big party with no statement on the Turin intergovernmental conference. Only a handful of MPs attended a UDF seminar on Europe this week, which was chaired by Mr Giscard and Mr Madelin.

### Paul Webster in Paris

AFTER more than 25 years of adapting Paris to the car, city hall is giving the bicycle its day. This week it decided to open about 35 miles of cycle tracks.

Jacques Chirac, the capital's former mayor, inherited the car-first policy from President Georges Pompidou, best remembered for the expressway that disfigures the Seine's right bank. But the new mayor, Jean Tiberi, has been forced to change gear because of recent transport strikes and a frightening increase in pollution.

Mr Chirac, elected last year as the first Gaullist president since Mr Pompidou died in 1974, made a token gesture to the cycle lobby about 10 years ago by laying out lanes protected only by green stripes on the road. They did little to reassure the city's 240,000 bike-owners, of whom 140,000 say they never dare cycle on the streets.

### Soon Parisian cyclists will have nothing to lose but their chains

Although the last stage of the Tour de France around central Paris is the year's most popular sporting event, cycling lobbies did not achieve a breakthrough until the chaos of last autumn's public transport protest, when about 380,000 cyclists invaded the city, using pavements to dodge traffic jams.

Since the strike, public transport usage has dropped by 10 per cent while car sales have rocketed. Pollution alerts have become a weekly event.

About £4 million will be spent on the first cycle tracks, which will run from the city boundaries on the north and south, and east-west along heavily used boulevards. Another circuit will cover the city centre. Much of the cycling network will be protected by continuous concrete dividers. About a thousand car parking spaces will be removed to ease cycle flow.

But the changes are unlikely to reduce motor traffic by more than 2 per cent, say council officials.

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# EU slams the door on fleeing victims

The European Union clampdown means many people genuinely escaping repression are being sent back to an uncertain fate.

Leonard Doyle looks at a continental trend, while, right, Guardian writers highlight cases from Britain and Germany

**G**UNER first incurred the wrath of the military-controlled police in Northern Cyprus when he was named as a political figure in favour of a federal solution for the divided island he stood for parliament for the New Cypriot Party in 1992. He was arrested, accused of illegal activities and beaten over four days. His feet swelled and bled for weeks after the soles were beaten with plastic truncheons. His daughters were roughed up at school and in October 1993 he fled to Britain with his family and applied for asylum on arrival.

However, Guner's real misfortune was coming from a country which the Home Office claims is a respectable democracy. Cyprus is designated as a "white list" country under the government's new Asylum Bill and is therefore held to be incapable of producing refugees. Many thousands of apparently genuine victims of torture and political repression are finding an increasingly cold reception on arrival in the European Union. EU countries have become less and less willing or able to distinguish between job-seeking illegal immigrants and genuine victims of human rights.

Guner was deported from Britain to Cyprus last September. After 16 days he went to the airport hoping to fly to Turkey. He was detained by plainclothes policemen who interrogated and severely on the back. He says he was then made to lie face down on the floor while his back was burnt with a white hot metal bar.

Amid the stench of burning flesh and cries of protest, he was taken out. When he came to, he was surprised to find himself alive, without broken bones. By paying bribes he made it to Turkey and from there he flew back to Britain to repeat his asylum claim.

**O**N ARRIVAL at Stansted airport last December, Guner's condition was so shocking that an immigration officer phoned his superior. He is now being treated by the London-based Medical Foundation for the care of Victims of Torture. The medical report of Dr Gordon Barclay, an examining consultant makes compelling reading. Guner, he states, "has about 100 scars, divided into two main types, circular and lozenge-shaped". Describing the number and severity as stupendous, Dr Barclay says they "bear out his story" and that he "could see no other explanation for them".

The Home Office takes a different view. In a letter, Lynn Parsons, an asylum division official, flatly rejected Guner's application for refugee status. She accuses him of "lies and embellishment" and of making "self-serving" claims and having an "appalling lack of credibility".

The burns on his back "were inflicted at your request in an attempt to strengthen your claim", she stated, adding that "there is no evidence to suggest that North Cyprus is anything other than a democratic country with respect for human rights".

The unsympathetic hearing Guner received is typical of the experience of asylum seekers throughout the EU. Families and individuals arriving by via third countries bearing false documents are routinely charged with fraud and sentenced to jail for up to six months. If they persist

with their asylum claim, their credibility is challenged by the authorities because of the criminal conviction.

The EU's draconian new approach was hatched in secret by an obscure group of officials from home affairs and interior ministries who meet under the auspices of the K4 Committee. Responsible for running intergovernmental co-operation for justice and home affairs, the K4 committee has the luxury afforded to no other group of civil servants in Europe of never having to face parliamentary scrutiny, whether at national or European level. A subcommittee, known as Steering Group 1 (Asylum and Immigration), draws up EU resolutions and conclusions for home affairs ministers to approve. This committee runs the EU's anti-immigration campaign which has slammed the door shut on hundreds of thousands of migrants and refugees.

Despite the Eurosceptic rhetoric of the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, the government's new Asylum and Immigration Bill are drawn directly from EU agreements. These elements are: a "white list" of countries from which asylum requests would not be entertained; and abolition of the right to appeal prior to deportation when the applicant has come via another "safe" country.

Once the Asylum Bill is adopted, probably in a few weeks, tens of thousands of refugees who come to Britain by circuitous routes, will be unable to appeal against the often arbitrary rulings of immigration officials which appear to be linked to a quota. In the rush to deport, there are inevitable violations of human rights. Recently a girl aged nine was held at Brussels airport in a converted hangar for three months. Her parents were legally in Germany and the German and Belgian authorities knew this. She was held incommunicado before being deported, on her own, back to Zaire.

Meanwhile, deportations from the EU are rising steeply as governments try to appease anti-immigrant feeling, while sending a public message to would-be illegal immigrants not to bother coming.



A mother and daughter sit yesterday amid other African immigrants after police expelled 400 from the Paris church where they had taken refuge



No entry... Albanian refugees clamber ashore from a ship at the Italian port of Bari in 1990. Nearly all were eventually returned to Albania. It was this image of an uncontrolled tide of immigration which galvanised the European Union into its current crackdown which has seen stricter entry requirements and a rise in deportations

Word has quickly filtered back to the villages and towns where unemployed immigrants come from, that unless they have an ironclad case for political asylum, all that awaits them once they arrive in the EU is a stretch in a detention centre and almost certain deportation. The vast majority of those claiming refugee status upon entering the EU are poor migrants trying to find a better life for themselves and their families.

**I**N THE rush to deport the economic migrants many genuine refugees are being pushed out as well, some without even getting a hearing. One result of the tough new attitude of EU governments is that asylum requests have dropped precipitously in most countries. In 1995 they were less than half those of 1992. Only in Britain, still catching up with the rest of the EU, were applications up from 32,300 in 1992 to 44,000 last year. Deportations from Britain doubled to 2,600 last year, while Germany sent 60,000 by air alone and France deported 10,000, still short of its declared target of 20,000 a year. Governments are loath to

divulge figures for deportations, but the number of immigrants booted out of Europe is believed to have been a record 200,000 last year. The true figure may be far higher as many are turned away at the borders without making it into the statistics. The machinery of detention and deportation is also becoming more professional and efficient. A large bureaucracy runs a string of asylum centres across Europe. Amsterdam has its Grenshospitium, Britain has Campsfield, Transit Centre 127-Bis in Steenokkerzeel, Belgium, and Cortemark in Germany is the biggest such centre in the EU.

Private companies have found a lucrative business escorting deportees back home and some travel agents specialise in finding groups of empty seats on planes bound for Africa and Asia. France outlawed hire-and-release as "Euro-Charter" which fly from country to country picking up refugees, who are then deported en masse. In July last year, 43 men and women were expelled on a flight to Zaire, reportedly with their arms and legs wrapped with tape. There was an outcry after one was found to be a French national. Belgium has even used a C-130 Hercules military aircraft to deport unwanted asylum seekers back to Zaire at the height of the civil war.

A few years back the Bavarian authorities used sealed carriages hitched to inter-city trains to try to deport thousands of Kosovo Albanians to the Czech Republic. The outcry triggered by the echo of Nazi transports of Jews to the concentration camps led the Bavarians to abandon the deportation method.

But even as the deportations proceed across Europe, some are warning of a looming demographic crisis which means that immigrants will soon be needed to man Europe's factories and building sites. The European Commission estimates that, as Europe's population ages in the second decade of the next century, net immigration could be allowed to rise 14-fold, from its current level of 500,000 a year to seven million. Even as asylum seekers and illegal immigrants are shown the door across Europe, it is becoming clear that they may be asked to return sooner rather than later.

Additional reporting by Ian Traynor in Bonn, Stephen Bates in Brussels, Alex Duval-Smith in Paris

## Bad timing gives student a hard lesson in asylum rules

Gary Younge

**O**N JUNE 24 1993 Ade Onibiyio was in the wrong place at the wrong time. The place was his own home in Kennington, south London. The time was 5.50am when about 10 police raided his parent's flat to take away Ade's father who was under suspicion of fraud — of which he was later cleared. Ade heard the commotion and got up to see what was going on. He was standing on the landing in his pyjamas when one of the officers saw him.

"How old are you?" he asked. "Seventeen," Ade replied. "Well then you're old enough. Come with us," the officer said. Ade's mother, Joyce, believes that if he had stayed in bed he would probably have completed his GNVQ certificate in building studies and be at university studying for his second-year exams in architecture by now. Instead he is locked up in Room 634 at Campsfield detention centre near Oxford waiting to hear if he will be deported to Nigeria, a country he has not visited since he was 11. Ade's father, 54-year-old Abdul, was sent back to Nigeria on October 22 last year. The last thing he said to Ade was, "Look after yourself and don't worry



Joyce Onibiyio: fears for her son's safety in Nigeria

about me. I'll be all right." He has not been seen or heard of since. Abdul, who worked as an engineer with Lambeth council, was a pro-democracy activist and member of the Nigerian Democratic Movement. A month after he was deported the Nigerian regime executed poet and Ogoni activist Ken Saro-Wiwa along with eight others. "When I saw that Ken Saro-Wiwa had been killed I just thought 'good God'," said Joyce. "If they can kill him and he is a well-known democracy campaigner and internationally respected figure then God only knows what they will do to Abdul." The Nigerian High Commission insists that he has not been arrested. It put out a national advertise-

ment at the beginning of the year saying it had no idea where he was: "The Nigerian High Commission wishes to state unequivocally that Mr Abdul Onibiyio is not being held by any branch of the Nigerian law enforcement and security services. Extensive enquiries have shown that Mr Onibiyio was never on the Nigeria Police Wanted List for any crime or any offence treasonable to the Nigerian state," the ad said. Home Office minister Ann Widdecombe has warned that the Government will oppose any application Ade makes to remain in this country.

There are an unsubstantiated rumours among some Nigerian circles in London that Abdul has fled to America. But the truth is that nobody knows. Ade thinks that whatever has happened to his father is likely to happen to him. Sitting opposite him in the visitors' room at Campsfield one gets the impression that after almost a year in detention he is beginning to wish that someone would just put him out of his misery. "I tried to carry on studying for a while but then I just thought what's the point. I don't even know whether I'm going to be here next week. It can get very depressing." Surrounded by high green fences, barbed wire and surveillance cameras,

Campsfield is nothing if not depressing. To get in you need a very clear knowledge of your pockets while one security guard flicks through your notebook and newspaper and another plays on her Gameboy. A guard will then open one door to let you into a compound and only when that door is closed will another door, 40 yards ahead, open electronically. Immediately you feel trapped. Ade's father, who moved to Britain in 1984, fell foul of a rule that immigrants lose their right of abode in Britain if they spend more than two years abroad. After he was absent from Britain between 1977 and 1983 was told his right of abode was lost. He was revoked. Ade, born in Nigeria, also fell foul of the rules. Ade and his father made a joint bid for asylum in March last year based on the claim that Abdul faced persecution in Nigeria because of his political activities. After that was turned down in July, Ade made a fresh application in December based on Abdul's disappearance and Ken Saro-Wiwa's execution, all of which had taken place since his first application. The claim was rejected and Ade was told he would be deported on December 7 — his birthday. Ade's solicitors won him a reprieve and in the next two weeks the Court of Appeal will decide his fate.

## Return of Bosnian refugees is a crisis waiting to happen

Ian Traynor in Bonn

**G**ERMANY has by far the biggest number of genuine refugees and illegal immigrants in Europe. It has an estimated 500,000 Bosnians, as many as there are in Sarajevo, who are in a category to themselves. The time is fast approaching, however, with a fragile peace holding in their benighted country, when they will be sent home, whether they like it or not. Last January the interior ministers of the 16 German

states decided on a phased but forced repatriation of all the Bosnians over two years, beginning on July 1. The repatriation process is threatening to degenerate into chaos. "What happens if they take a Bosnian woman whose husband has been killed, who has been raped, and who is then put in handcuffs and expelled from the country? What will the public and the media reaction be?" asks a senior relief agency official. Germany's interior minister, Manfred Kanther, and

other senior rightwing politicians such as the finance minister, Theo Waigel, are fond of invoking Germans' post-war industriousness in lecturing the Bosnians to go home and rebuild their country. The common refrain is that 10 million Germans emerged from the rubble in 1945, bent their backs, and rebuilt their villages, towns and cities. But the problem is that most of them do not have homes, villages, towns or cities to return to. The chaos is likely to ensue when the Bosnians are forced

to move. There are too many to be flown out. They cannot, in any case, be flown to Bosnia. Most of them will want to take cars back with them packed to the gunnels with their belongings. They would have to cross Austria, Slovenia and Croatia to reach Bosnia. "The Bosnians are in a total panic," says one aid worker. But the German government is unwilling to countenance any criticism on the grounds that the country has absorbed more Bosnians than the rest of Europe combined.

**"She was determined to make it to her daughter's wedding."**

**It took all of my nursing skill to get her there."**

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Racing

Superior Finish on hand to extend the Pitman legend

Royal Athlete has been put out to pasture but Frank Keating finds that Mrs P has another National contender in her yard

AS THE field for next Saturday's Grand National continued to be denuded of familiar names this week, there was a particularly sad collective sigh when last year's winner Royal Athlete, now 10, was withdrawn and cantered into retirement.

The sadness was as much for the going of the noble old champion as for the thought that his trainer Jenny Pitman might not be appearing in person around the cameras and microphones of the course next week.



Mark... 'cheeky monkey'

accounted for. In the last 10 days Superior Finish, so nicely described as a black horse, has dropped on the blackboards from 20s to 16s to 14s.

On his last run in January at Sandown Superior Finish lived up to his name, winning 6s5 and coming in second, the Peter Cazalet Master over three miles and five.

Next week Mrs Pitman and her hat could well have dressed up in front of the cameras long before tea-time on Saturday in the Martell Cup three-miler she runs Egypt Mill Prince.

"We've got to give him a fantastic chance," says Mark. "Now this horse is characterised. What he loves to do is save that little bit more for himself in the tank. He is difficult only in as much as you've got to set him off just so; he has to be mentally popping his cork and being really fresh and well and ready to race."



People's priestess... Jenny Pitman, darling of Aintree's once-a-year dabblers, puts her feet up at her Lambourn home

vanah, Willsford, Royal Athlete and doff a cheery black bowler and unfurl a red flag — poor Esha Ness, which won, and lost, the crazy National. This worthy is now gadding about on the hunting fields, none the wiser.

Royal Athlete will also do some hunting next season, as well as leading out the young string of a morning from Weathercock House. "The dear old boy has been such an ambassador for the sport," said Mrs Pitman dolefully, "but because the winter has been so hard we couldn't get in his required work for one

last go, so we wanted him to finish in one place and enjoy the second half of his life although, in himself, I doubt if he would have minded galloping on forever."

Mark was born 30 years ago, nine days after Florence Nagle had legally forced a reluctant Jockey Club to license female trainers for the first time. Little could Mrs P have thought then that her first son would not only ride a second Gold Cup for her (Garrison Savannah in 1991) but help her saddle a second National winner.

Not that, since Mrs Nagle's breakthrough, Jenny Pitman would become incomparably the leading woman trainer in the sport's history. Monica Dickinson and Mercy Rimell might have approached her level of success but they took over a smooth-running concern.

Newbury with form for TV races

Table with 2 columns: Race number and horse names. Races include 1.00 Bony Bay, 2.00 Supreme Lady, 2.35 Boscagee Man, 3.00 Dark Stranger, 3.35 Abbey Street, 4.05 French Holly.

BBC-1

Table with 2 columns: Race number and horse names. Races include 1.00 BONY CHAMBERLAIN HANDICAP CHASE, 1.15-1.30 SURE CLAIR (11) (10) (9) (8) (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1), 1.35-1.50 STRENGTH MEDICINE (11) (10) (9) (8) (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1), 1.55-2.10 YORKSHIRE GOLD (10) (9) (8) (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1), 2.15-2.30 YORKSHIRE GOLD (10) (9) (8) (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1), 2.35-2.50 YORKSHIRE GOLD (10) (9) (8) (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1), 2.55-3.10 YORKSHIRE GOLD (10) (9) (8) (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1), 3.15-3.30 YORKSHIRE GOLD (10) (9) (8) (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1), 3.35-3.50 YORKSHIRE GOLD (10) (9) (8) (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1), 3.55-4.10 YORKSHIRE GOLD (10) (9) (8) (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1), 4.15-4.30 YORKSHIRE GOLD (10) (9) (8) (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1), 4.35-4.50 YORKSHIRE GOLD (10) (9) (8) (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1), 4.55-5.10 YORKSHIRE GOLD (10) (9) (8) (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1), 5.15-5.30 YORKSHIRE GOLD (10) (9) (8) (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1), 5.35-5.50 YORKSHIRE GOLD (10) (9) (8) (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1), 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SOCCER: COCA-COLA CUP FINAL

David Lacey finds Aston Villa a slightly better proposition than Leeds United for domestic honour tomorrow and in Europe thereafter

Wembley may wait on Yorke wizardry

NO SOONER have the last of English football's present Euro-ben ambitions been bundled out of the Uefa Cup than the first of next season's aspirants are about to head the check-in queue.

Will the winners of the 1996 Coca-Cola Cup final fare any better than Nottingham Forest against Bayern Munich? Last year's winners, Liverpool, went out of the Uefa Cup to a lesser team, Brondby.

Whoever wins tomorrow, Aston Villa or Leeds United, it is hard to be sanguine about their chances. Leeds's shortcomings in Europe have already been exposed this season by FSV Eintracht.

At least Brian Little's Villa side have more durable look. Their problem in Europe would lie in scoring goals if Dwight Yorke was marked out of existence.

This is unlikely to happen at Wembley tomorrow. Picking up potential scorers is not Leeds's strongest point and Yorke is just as likely to create goals as take them himself.

Leeds may well try to isolate him but Yorke is a master of surprise, finding space and angles that opponents have not thought about.

Even so, Little could have done with a fit Johnson, out for nine games with a thigh injury, to provide an alternative threat. Johnson's ability to drift in space around Yorke and Milosevic, then strike suddenly for goal, has enhanced a Villa attack which at times loses its fire.

In the Premiership Villa look the best of the also-rans. Tomorrow represents their strongest chance of winning something this season. Their FA Cup semi-final encounter

with Liverpool a week later holds less promise.

After winning their first three fixtures Leeds have had a disappointing league season. McAllister's eye for the penetrative pass and the opportunist's goal could be their best chance of success tomorrow, although an equally likely match-winner, with Broolin on the bench, is Yeboah.

The Ghanaian striker began the season with some spectacular goals but since then his scoring rate has become more sporadic. Still, he gives Leeds a presence in the penalty area that Milosevic, the slow-turning Serb, has yet to provide for Villa.

Little has Southgate fit to join Ebiogu and McGrath at the back. Charles has recovered from a hamstring problem. Taylor, another doubt, trained yesterday and looks set to come into midfield ahead of Staunton.

Dorigo, who has missed seven matches with a hamstring injury, is unlikely to make the final for Leeds. In which case the only change in the side beaten 3-0 by Liverpool in the FA Cup on Wednesday will see Wetherall returning to centre-back after suspension, with Palmer moving forward to replace Ford in midfield.

The longer the game is goalless the more danger there will be of mind-bending stalemate. Yorke is the player most likely to save it from that.

Aston Villa (probable): Bosnich; Charles, Wright, Ebiogu, McGrath, Southgate, Taylor, Draper, Townsend, Milosevic, Yorke.

Leeds United (probable): Lubic, Kelly, Worthington, Pemberton, Wetherall, Ricketts, Palmer, McAllister, Speed, Deane, Yeboah.

Referee: P. Hart (Darlington).

TWO MEN TO TURN A FINAL



Leeds United

Goalkeeper

At 35, Lubic is one of the Premiership's most experienced goalkeepers. The old facility occasionally catches up with him but he usually commands the penalty area with assured authority and his handling seldom lets Leeds down.

Defence

A long-standing problem for Howard Wilkinson, who still sees his back four caught square and flat while the opposition stroll through. Recent injuries to the regular full-backs Kelly and Dorigo have not helped.

Midfield

Leeds should achieve some sort of parity here, unless Villa succeed in stifling McAllister. On their day they are a good passing team and Palmer, once under way, is hard to stop.

Attack

Yeboah may not be quite the all-round influence for Leeds that Yorke has become for Villa but his ability to turn a match with one inspired shot has been evident ever since he came to Tottenham at Old Trafford.

Aston Villa

Goalkeeper

In Bosnich Villa have one of the Premiership's outstanding goalkeepers. Still only 24, the Australian combines agility with anticipation to reach shots that would best many of his contemporaries.

Defence

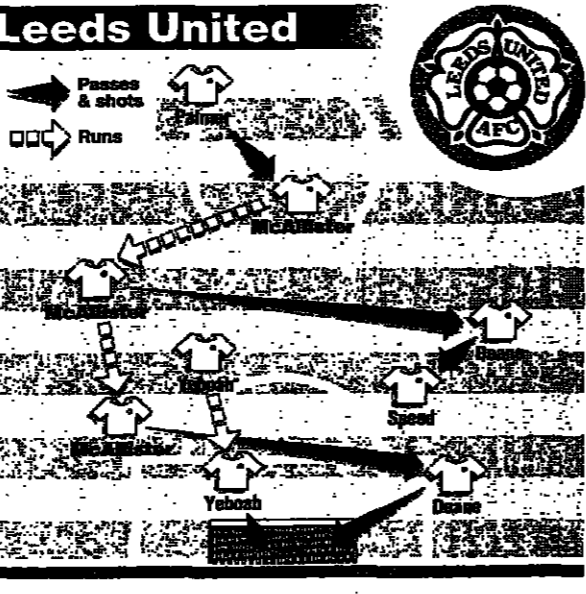
This season Aston Villa have used the system of three centre-backs as well as anybody, even when McGrath has been out. The improvement in Ebiogu's all-round game has been complemented by the intelligence and versatility of Southgate.

Midfield

Draper may be no McAllister but he has brought an extra dimension to Villa's football this season none the less. Townsend's authority and experience are enhanced by the regularity with which Yorke comes deep and the consistency with which Charles and Wright augment the midfield when Villa switch from defence to attack.

Attack

Villa have not been starved of goals this season but should have taken a higher proportion of their chances. Too much depends on Yorke hitting the target. Milosevic can do wondrous things under pressure and is hard to shake off the ball but he tends to freeze when faced with a gaping net. The injured Johnson's opportunism has been missed.



Gary McAllister

GARY McALLISTER'S astute footballing brain is fundamental to Leeds United's football. Here he comes deep to receive the ball from the defender Carlton Palmer. He then takes it wide on the right before switching the play with a raking pass to Brian Deane on the opposite flank.

Dwight Yorke

UNDER Brian Little, Aston Villa have evolved a system of play which exploits the all-round qualities of Dwight Yorke, not least his acute sense of positional play. In this hypothetical example Andy Townsend wins the ball inside the Villa half and releases Alan Wright, overlapping on the left. Wright finds Mark Draper and keeps running.



Ferguson stands by 'unlucky' Cole

Ian Ross

ANDY COLE yesterday received a resounding vote of confidence from the Manchester United manager Alex Ferguson, who said the striker will keep his place in tomorrow's match against Tottenham at Old Trafford.

Reacting to Cole's undistinguished performance against Arsenal in midweek, Ferguson moved swiftly to rate his 17 million buy unfortunate rather than untalented. "He must be the unluckiest striker in the game. I just can't believe the run he is having," Ferguson said.

"I explained to Andy why I took him off in midweek. It was just one of those nights for him but it will turn round for him, I know. His all-round team play has been excellent and he has been involved in most of the goals we have scored of late. He is just suffering from incredibly bad luck."

To the immense disappointment of many Manchester City supporters, Garry Flitcroft yesterday completed a £3.3 million move to Blackburn. "I had no idea at all that this was on the cards. It came right out of the blue," said the England Under-21 international.

and by paying Grimsby Town around £900,000 for the full-back Gary Croft.

The Manchester City captain Keith Curle was fined £500 by the Football Association yesterday for sounding off at the referee Paul Alocock following last month's defeat at Everton. He was also warned as to his future conduct.

Curle, who returned to the side for last week's win against Southampton following a two-match ban, now awaits a date for his return visit to Lancaster Gate to answer a second misconduct charge arising out of incidents involving Newcastle's Faustino Asprilla. The Colombian must also answer charges over the same incidents.

Tony Pulis, the Gillingham manager, was fined £150 by the FA and warned about his future conduct for comments made to the referee after his club's third-round FA Cup defeat at Reading in January.

Bayern face Cruyff's men

home in the first leg.

The winners of the Bayern v Barcelona clash will be at home in the first leg of the Uefa Cup final on May 15. The second leg is on May 16.

In the Cup Winners' Cup Feyenoord meet Rapid Vienna with the Dutch team at home in the first leg on April 4.

John Toshack's Deportivo La Coruna, who reached their first European semi-final by eliminating the holders Real Zaragoza, meet Paris St Germain, with the first leg in Spain. The final will be

played in Brussels on May 8. The draw for home and away status in the European Cup semi-finals has slightly reduced the prospect of an Ajax v Juventus final in Rome on May 22. Both Ajax, the holders, and the Italians are at home in the first legs.

Ajax entertain Panathinaikos, while Juventus host Nantes on April 8.

Special-headline European Cup: Ajax v Panathinaikos; Juventus v Nantes (to be played April 8 and 17). Uefa Cup: Sevilla Prague v Borussia Dortmund; Bayern Munich v Barcelona (April 2 and April 16). Cup Winners' Cup: Deportivo La Coruna v Paris St Germain; Feyenoord v Rapid Vienna (April 4 and April 16).

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Performance of the week: Steve McNamara (Liverpool), whose two goals in Wednesday's Cup replay confirmed his European Championship potential.

Gallagher's whistle-stop rise to the FA Cup final

DERMOT GALLAGHER will referee the FA Cup final at Wembley on May 11, thus ending his season where it began.

The 38-year-old football development officer with the Hellenic League club Banbury United officiated at the FA Charity Shield game between Blackburn and Everton last August.

Gallagher will also be on duty at this summer's European Championship finals and the FA spokesman Steve Double said: "In a season where referees have been under fire more than most others, Dermot Gallagher has won a lot of praise."

Gallagher started refereeing in 1977 in the Oxfordshire leagues before becoming a

Football League linesman 11 years ago. He made the referees' list in 1990 and joined the FIA/Uefa list in 1993, since when his career has taken off with appointments around the world.

His first Wembley appearance was for last season's FA Trophy final in front of 15,000 spectators.

Gallagher's linesmen will be the 33-year-old Staffordshire-based Tony Bates, who was part of the Charity Shield team, and Peter Walton, 36, from Northamptonshire.

The reserve official at Wembley will be Paul Durkin from Portland, who will be in charge of the Old Trafford semi-final between Aston Villa and Liverpool.

Scottish preview

Celtic see the point as draws are no good

Patrick Glenn

THE nervousness likely to settle over Ibrox and Celtic Park during the last seven matches of the Premiership season has been deepened by the three-points-for-a-win system. Since its inception draws have become damaging.

"If you look at the damage we sustained in the 0-0 draw with Kilmarnock and Falkirk you will see the point," said Celtic's assistant manager

Billy Stark. "Had we scored once in each match we would be a point in front of Rangers rather than three behind."

Celtic have lost only one of 29 league games and Rangers two but the champions have won more and drawn fewer.

Celtic, with the more demanding mission this afternoon at Motherwell, will have to change the team that drew 1-1 with Rangers last Sunday because the full-back Jackie McNamara was ordered off then and is suspended. But Simon Donnelly is likely to

return to the front line and Phil O'Donnell is likely to retain his place.

Jorge Cadete, the Portuguese striker, was back at Celtic Park last night discussing a move which now seems certain to be completed.

Rangers, at home to the troubled Falkirk, look certain to start with the team that finished against Celtic. That would mean a place for Gordon Durie but Richard Gough remains absent, along with David Robertson, Craig Moore and Ian Ferguson.

TEAM SHEET

Arsenal v Newcastle

The Gunners' captain Tony Adams must wait for his recall despite coming early through two reserve games after recovering from knee surgery. The midfielder Ray Parlour returns to the squad after a two-match suspension. The England defender Steve Howey and Warren Barton face late fitness tests for Newcastle and, if they are fit, an unchanged line-up is likely.

Bolton v Sheffield Wed

Aidan Davison, who had an unhappy Premiership debut for Bolton in their 3-2 defeat to Sheffield Wednesday, is set to continue in goal as Keith Bracken is still sidelined by a knee ligament injury. The Welsh international striker Nathan Blake has knee and foot problems, so John McKinley or Fabian de Freitas could deputise. Wednesday's captain Peter Abbott is available after a two-match suspension but in his absence the Owls have beaten Aston Villa and Southampton with Jon Newsome forming an impressive partnership with Des Walker. The Dutch winger Pops Bimber (groin) faces a fitness test.

Chelsea v QPR

Chelsea's manager Glenn Hoddle has no injury or suspension worries so he is

Everton v Wimbledon

Everton's captain Dave Watson has shaken off a hamstring injury and returns in place of David Unsworth (knee strain). The full-back Marc Hottiger is also available after taking time off to get married in Switzerland. The Wimbledon striker Dean Holdsworth is set to return after recovering from the ankle injury which forced him to miss the FA Cup defeat by Chelsea. Joe Kinnear may adopt a more defensive formation and play the experienced Andy Thorn, who has not started a first-team match since December, as sweeper.

Nottingham Forest v Liverpool

Forest's manager Frank Clark is unlikely to ring the changes after the 5-1 Uefa Cup thrashing by Bayern Munich but Scott Gemmill, who missed Wednesday's match through suspension, and Chris Allen, whose team spent from Oxford ends today, hope to come into contention. Jamie Mackenzie, recalled to the England squad for the week, is on stand-by to return for Liverpool if Michael Thomas (hamstring) fails to

West Ham v Manchester City

West Ham's leading scorer Tony Gohoe is still out with a cold problem, so the Dutch striker Andy Cole but the full-back Denis Irwin (hamstring) is again likely to miss. Steve Bruce is expected to shake off a slight knock. Tottenham's Scotland defender Colin Calderwood, damaged for the 19th of the season, Gary Mabbutt (ankle), recalled to the England squad for the week, is on stand-by to return for Liverpool if Michael Thomas (hamstring) fails to

TOMORROW

Manchester Utd v Tottenham Alex Ferguson has kept faith with his out-of-form striker Andy Cole but the full-back Denis Irwin (hamstring) is again likely to miss. Steve Bruce is expected to shake off a slight knock. Tottenham's Scotland defender Colin Calderwood, damaged for the 19th of the season, Gary Mabbutt (ankle), recalled to the England squad for the week, is on stand-by to return for Liverpool if Michael Thomas (hamstring) fails to

The ki are no all right

Shadow behind E

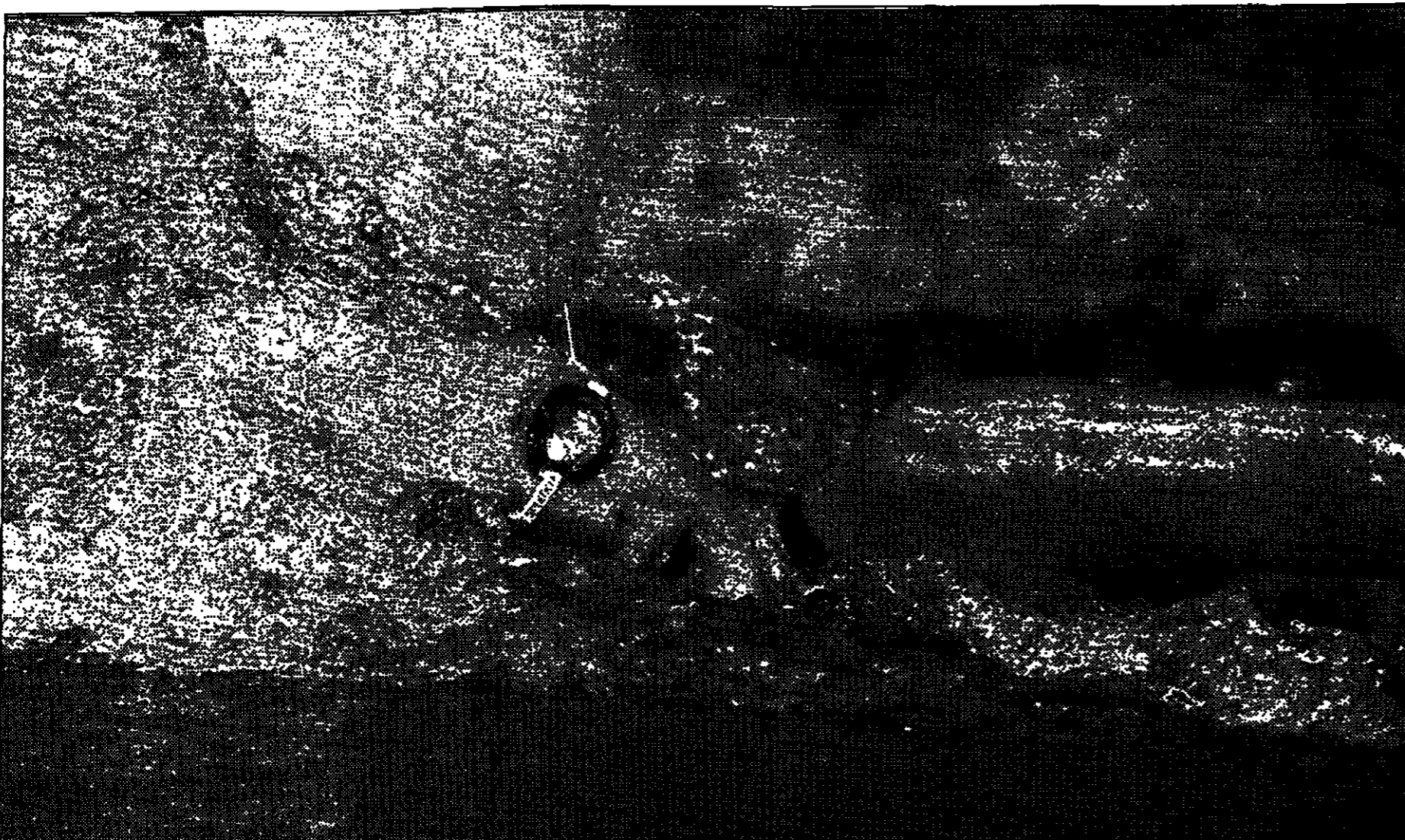






# SportsGuardian

## ATLANTA BECKONS FOR BRITAIN'S OLYMPIC SWIMMING HOPEFULS



Going to great lengths... Kelly Carr ploughs through the water in the 50 metres freestyle in Sheffield. At the Olympic trials Graeme Smith, the 19-year-old Scot based in Stockport, set a British record of 15min 3.43sec in the 1500m freestyle and shot to the top of the event's world rankings

English cricket yesterday learned that despite a winter of discontent there is no alternative to the status quo

## Graveney ducks a contest

Ray Illingworth will no longer be opposed as chairman of selectors. **David Foot** reports

Ray Illingworth last night won the election for England's chairman of selectors... Alan Smith, the TCCB's chief executive, said that a ballot was no longer necessary at the board's spring meeting on Tuesday...

Tim Curtis, the PCA chairman, said that Graveney had been "a little bit used" by Warwickshire... Graveney announced his withdrawal from Florida, where he is on holiday...

Illingworth said that he would support me... Curtis said: "We told him it just wouldn't be tenable to do both jobs... Graveney's withdrawal avoids any more neighbourly avoidances...

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## Magician who needs Gazza's elbow room



David Lacey

FORMER England captain left a recent, particularly hectic Premiership match shaking his head. "I've come to the conclusion," he said, "that football is now a young man's game."

By this he meant that the future belonged to the under-25s. It used to be believed that players matured at 27 or 28. These days, if they have not made it at 21, they have to be exceptional late developers if they are going to do so.

were late arrivals for the tournaments. In McManaman's case, however, there is a snag. It is 28, possesses immensely talented feet, punitively sharp elbows, has been booked 16 times this season, including a sending-off, and answers to the name of Paul Gascoigne.

The England coach will not jettison Gascoigne lightly. And, to be fair, he looked the only English player capable of unlocking foreign defences when Colombia came to Wembley in September.

VENABLES will not set his face against Gascoigne but it is possible to foresee him giving way to McManaman after one or two matches, just as Beardsley came to join Gary Lineker and help rescue England in Monterrey in 1986.

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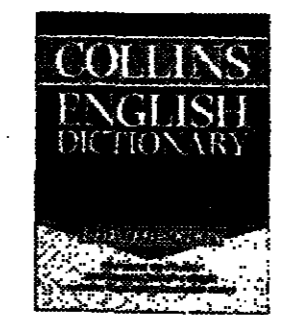
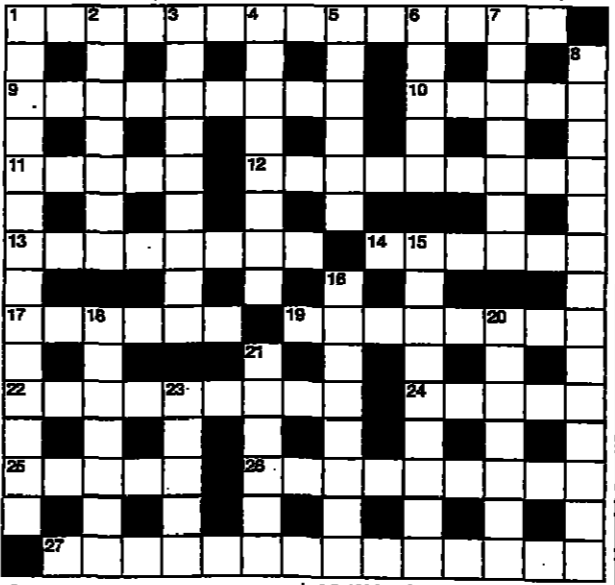
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## Guardian COLLINS Crossword 20,608

A copy of the Collins English Dictionary will be sent to the first five correct entries drawn. Entries to Guardian Crossword No 20,608, P.O. Box 315, Mitcham, Surrey, CR4 2AX, by first post on Friday. Solution and winners in the Guardian on Monday April 1.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Tick here if you do not wish to receive further information from the Guardian Media Group or other companies screened by us

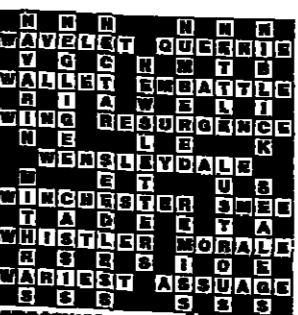


- 3 10 banger will fizzle out (4,5)
- 4 Warning: not a bean if you say it wrong (4,4)
- 5 10 eyes express it thus on the right line (6)
- 6 10's colour's sound centre (5)
- 7 Threatening ancient King about turn round first (7)
- 8 Way for a politician to defile a reader: he may take cover (5,9)
- 15 Chap I need to make the bit you hold (4-5)
- 16 Everything's in check thanks to capital (8)
- 18 Scot's no invalid: like a spot? (7)
- 20 Venerable personage united with 10 (7)
- 21 Cold without point - avoid fresh air (6)
- 23 Beat seeds for food (5)

Set by Araucaria

- 1 Planks on shoal may be public (8-6)
- 9 Frost gauge to have 10 eyes? Remote possibility (9)
- 10 6 is in test (5)
- 11 45 inch islands (hard) - the second Bell (5)
- 12 Lake to take shape of carpet (9)
- 13 Growing like money - silver: about two hundred facing bankruptcy (9)
- 14 Medicine to partially atrophy most of those who need it (6)
- 17 A U-band designed to take a lot of water away (5)

- 19 Writer in waterway may absorb another (6)
- 22 By pure chance, form of pearl is of mother (last) (9)
- 24 Provider of notes about person (5)
- 25 Slaver, new or old (5)
- 26 We three start group of 6, 10, and 20 (3,3,3)
- 27 Last month's countdown coming to an end in Caria's work (5,5)



Crossword solution 20,607

### A King's Cross back street has starred in 80 film and TV productions, including High Hopes and The Ladykillers. Now it faces the bulldozers.

### Outlook Page 18

Whitehall crew for six years that SE-infected little might humans. Except the warned deaths were vilified, eds cut or of their were burgled

Photograph LUCA IMPEDRI

How S







# Divorced from reality

**E**IGHT years ago when the Law Commission — the Government's official advisory body — set out its first divorce reform plan, one out of three marriages was ending in divorce. Now it is one out of two. This has nothing to do with any legal changes. Contrary to the arguments of the moral right which will be aired with force on Monday when the Family Law Bill reaches the Commons, social and economic factors have always played a more important role in marital break-up than legislation. The threefold increase in divorce — from 50,000 to 150,000 — since the last major piece of legislation in 1969 has always been misinterpreted. What is ignored is the broken marriages which were finished in all but legal definition before the 1969 Divorce Reform Act, and the social changes which have happened since: increased economic independence of women, higher expectations, unemployment and urban stress. The simple Law Commission message of 1968 remains as relevant today: the law cannot alter the facts of life, but it need not make matters worse. There is a huge hole in the current

bill — a hole created not by rightwing amendments in the Lords to its various clauses, but by the lack of provision for the beginning for a group who account for one-quarter of all births: unmarried cohabiting couples. Children in these relationships have rights too. Bad though the current procedure is for children of separating married couples, children of separating cohabiting couples are in an even worse position with their needs virtually unrecognised by family law. There is a reluctance across Europe — even in Sweden — to accord the same rights to cohabitants as to married couples, but it is a pity the Opposition parties have not spoken out louder on the needs of children in such unions.

Six years ago, at the time of the Law Commission's revised report, the Lord Chancellor deemed the divorce law to be in "a sorry state". He explained: "It does nothing to support those marriages which can and should be saved, but nor does it allow those which are dead to be decently buried with the maximum of fairness and the minimum of bitterness, distress and humiliation." He was right then and his bill now would help correct these serious shortcomings.

The Lord Chancellor's opponents have condemned the bill for ending fault, restricting the waiting period to 12 months, and introducing divorce-on-demand. It was not Lord Mackay but the 1969 Act which introduced no fault. What went wrong was that no fault took a two year wait so three out of four couples opted instead for fault (adultery or unreasonable behaviour) to obtain a quick divorce. Lord Mackay is right to stick to

his 12-month waiting period. That is a long time in a child's life. This gives couples ample opportunity to reflect on the consequences. Indeed, unlike the present procedure, all arrangements about finance, property and children will have to be decided before divorce. This could, as the Lord Chancellor has argued, save some marriages when couples reflect on the consequences. Research suggests some people regret their divorce and feel they were rushed into it. Moreover, by moving divorce from a lawyer-led process to a mediator-directed procedure, the Lord Chancellor will further increase the chance of reconciliation as well as reduce bitterness, hostility and recriminations for people who do separate. All this will produce huge benefits for children. A succession of research studies has shown far more damage is wreaked by parental conflict than by separation. Moralists longing for a return to pre-1969 days should read the account by Dame Margaret Booth, the High Court judge, of the "unhappy and sordid procedure" on our March 5 law page.

The most embarrassing defeat in the Lords was on splitting pension rights. Labour was right to call the Treasury's bluff with its £1 billion false price-tag. The cost has already come down to £200 million. Meanwhile ministers were finally reported yesterday to be ready to accept the reform which they had so long resisted. It will not be included in the current bill but there will be a solemn Monday promise. So long as it's cast iron, there should be no complaint. The child support agency fiasco showed the importance of getting it right.

# Cliff's hit is critic-proof

**C**RITICS, who needs 'em? Not Sir Cliff Richard, it seems. Sir Cliff has announced that critics should not expect invitations to his forthcoming musical, *Heathcliff*. They are welcome to queue up and pay, but complimentary reviews for review purposes are out of the question. A bold move? Not entirely. Sales of the soundtrack album have already reached 200,000; tickets for the show's 22-week tour have sold so well that a further six weeks have been added. All this, and there are still seven months to go before that momentous moment when the 55-year-old Sir Cliff clambers on to the Academy stage of Birmingham's National Indoor Arena — home to the *Gladiators* — to embody the considerably more youthful *Heathcliff*.

The message is clear: the fans want to see Sir Cliff do *Heathcliff*. He might do it well, badly, or indifferently — it really doesn't matter. As long as Sir Cliff is there, stumbling about a windswept moor, the paying public will be happy, the show will be a success. Bad reviews do not necessarily signal failure.

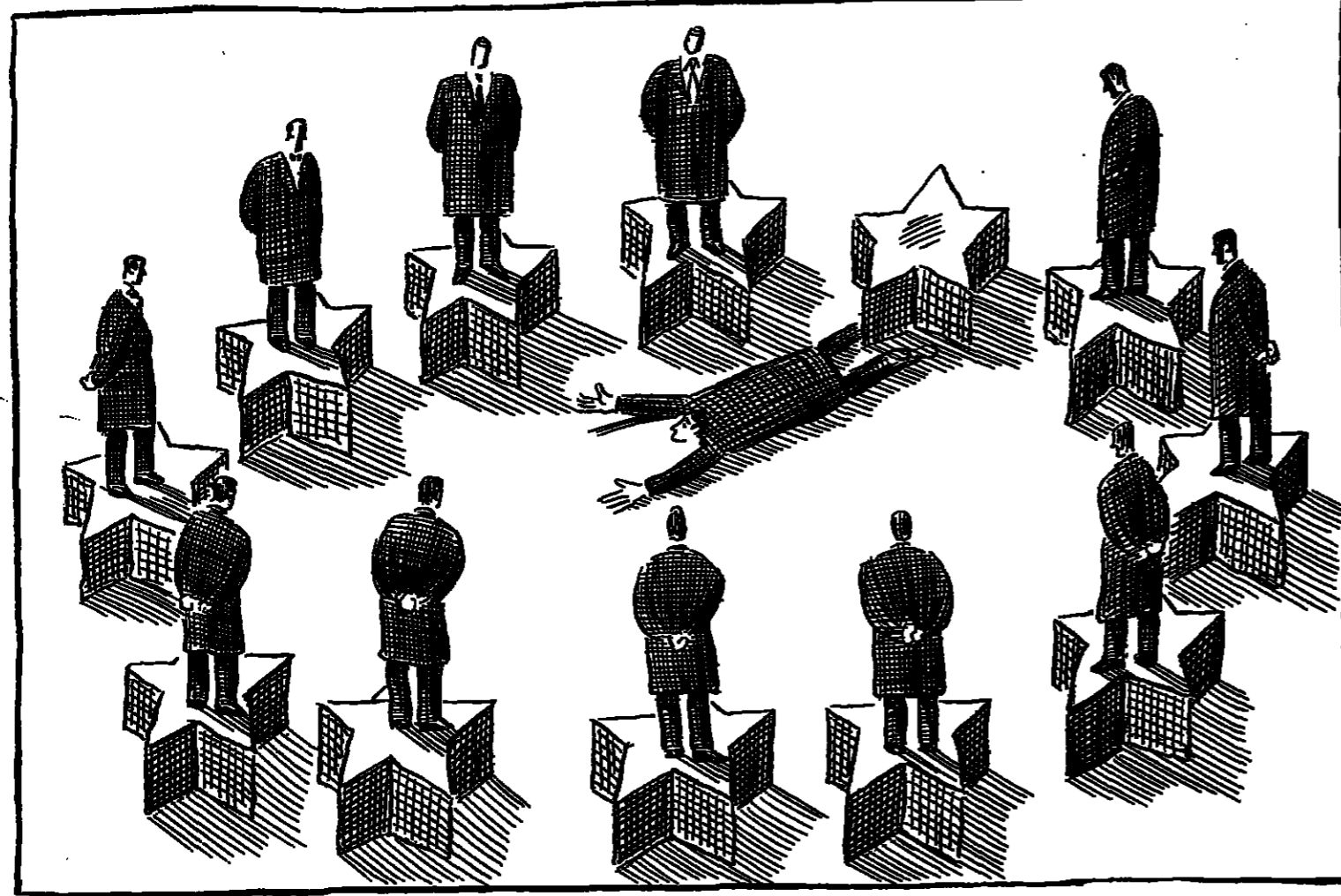
There is nothing new about this. The recent film of another literary classic, *The Scarlet Letter*, went unscathed by critics until its general release. Ditto Robert Altman's film *Deconstructing the Fashion World*, Prêt-à-Porter. Ditto too, for example, Naomi Campbell's novel, Madonna's "Sex" book and a recent rock

concert by Bruce Willis — yes, that Bruce Willis.

Two motives can be identified. One is control. Critics are invited to review. They are guests, there to help the promoters in their quest for good publicity. (Try running the notion that there is no such thing as bad publicity past the producers of the West End's most celebrated recent flop, the electric chair musical *Fields of Ambrosia*.) Entertainment — is books, films, music, art exhibitions — is business. Expose the product to a force that could skew an entire marketing campaign? Get real.

The second motive is hype. Issue a "critics barred" notice and lo and behold, up pops the product in the following day's newspapers. Even leader column writers join in. Sir Cliff's spokesman was quoted as saying, "If there are no tickets left, there's no point in having any critics." By the same token, there is little justification for a press spokesperson. That Sir Cliff's little enterprise is being pushed by one of the country's most astute PR operators — the man responsible for a sizeable chunk of most days' newspapers — is little surprise. He knows that the last thing a newspaper will do is impose a news blackout.

Perhaps, unwittingly, he has a point. Price is part of the equation in any artistic transaction. For a critic who has not parted with the ready it can be difficult to gauge the true value of an evening's entertainment, the product's worth. After all, an average *Heathcliff* for free is an average *Heathcliff*. An average *Heathcliff* for £30, however, would be something of a disappointment.



# No help for a falling star

**Britain's beef blight is not the only crisis to affect EU countries. And, says MARTIN WOOLLACOTT, there's no hope for unity if member states seek to benefit from each other's disasters. Illustration: PETER TILL**

**L**OOK at the face of Europe today. Are its features best glimpsed in Brussels, where Jacques Santer and his commissioners prepare their plans, or will they be more evident in Turin next week when the Inter-Governmental Conference on the future of the Union begins? Or are they better grasped in the silent shipyards of Bremerhaven, in the angry fishing villages of Brittany and Cornwall, in the empty hangars of Fokker Aircraft, in the missile factories of central France, in the workshops of Short Brothers in Belfast, or in the stricken beef pasture lands of Britain? In all these places, there is

devastation. The destruction of lives and livelihoods and the demonstrated bankruptcy of certain ways of doing things — of building ships, of taking fish, of making aeroplanes and weapons, of producing food — constitute a crisis that it is foolish to label as one of unemployment. The compartmentalisation of political life, which puts employment in one category, the environment in another, heritage in a third, hygiene and health in a fourth, conspires to hide the larger reality. This is not only of a Europe where dangerous things are happening, but of a Europe whose nations lack sympathy

with each other and seize advantages from the misfortunes of their neighbours. The Dutch minister of economics, Hans Wijers, summing up the end of three quarters of a century of aircraft production in Holland, said: "As far as the aircraft industry is concerned, Europe doesn't exist. In fact the opposite is true. Europe is a jungle." A great German corporation had come to the rescue of the famous Dutch aircraft firm. But when its plans didn't work out, Daimler-Benz dumped its new subsidiary. In the ruthless struggle for aerospace dominance in Europe, Holland no longer has a place. In other European countries, people feel vaguely sorry. They understand that this involves national pride and technical and scientific prestige as well as jobs. They have also been made to understand that in order for there to be winners there have to be losers.

The brutal fact is that, at the end, Germany, Britain, and France still have aerospace industries, and Holland doesn't. The British beef crisis offers another instance where European solidarity is conspicuous by its absence. The enormity of what has happened cannot be exaggerated. The agricultural revolution which Britain pioneered in the 16th century, which sent British livestock, plants, and seeds around the globe, has ended in this disaster, from which British agricultural prestige and British farming will never completely recover. This is a tragedy for which we deserve some sympathy as well as blame. Yet Europe as a whole does not mourn this as a loss to its collective agricultural tradition, so greatly influenced by British models for more than two centuries. Nor does it see it as evidence that the way in which EU European agricultural production is now organised, save for a few sadder pockets, ought to be re-examined. Every nation is still preoccupied with its own version of a high input, high productivity, export orientated, mechanised agriculture and an expanding food processing and marketing industry.

That preoccupation is buttressed by a common agricultural policy which, a few useful changes aside, still reinforces such an agricultural industry. This is combined, quite grotesquely, with the conviction that "our" foodstuffs are purer and healthier than those of other countries. Something more is wrong, which is that, in general, we watch these disasters as they occur to others with a cold eye, particularly the disasters of economic life which are becoming more and more common. One country's disaster is another's opportunity. The critical question at the heart of Europe is the clash of what are still national capitalisms, backed by governments which strive to give their firms and industries the edge. Alliances, co-production clubs, and even some mergers do not transcend this competition, but merely intensify it and make it more complicated. European industrial policy aims sometimes at achieving competition within the union, sometimes at equipping Europe as a whole, through

mergers and alliances, to compete with other regions, sometimes to sustain them, but agriculture above all, for social reasons. It is not coherent.

What is the vision here? The "vision" is that some parts of Europe are going to be richer, some poorer, some will keep their industrial jobs and others some will lose them. In the old expanding Europe, this mattered less — even the "losers" would be winners up to a point. But in a Europe hampering jobs and orders, the losers are losers. The leaders of Europe now sell their policies on fear rather than hope.

Chancellor Kohl's often repeated thesis about European unity being essential if we are to avoid a world widely remarked. What is less noticed is how he now emphasises the disaster which Germany will face, in his argument, if monetary union does not come about. Foreigners, he argued this week, will drive up the value of the mark by using it as a currency of refuge, thereby making it impossible for Germany to export, a situation which would rapidly lead to slump and mass unemployment.

Voters in Germany, including those who go to the polls in three important provincial elections this weekend, are, it seems, meant to make a choice between two competing fears — the fear of giving up the mark, and the fear of what will happen if the mark is not given up. Inensibly, Kohl has passed from saying that monetary union is necessary for Europe to saying that the German economy will crack up if there is no monetary union.

**T**HE reaction of much of the European Left has been to demand that unemployment and job creation be put on the top of the Inter-Governmental Conference's agenda. French trade unions will demonstrate to that effect next Friday, while the German Social Democrats have already announced they will block ratification of whatever treaty comes out of the conference next year and more if it does not include action on unemployment. Yet European job creation is likely to be as ineffective as national efforts. Like Germany's Alliance for Jobs, it is a policy of the past, and now collapsing amidst much recrimination.

It is not a radical enough shift in priorities. What is most important in Europe is the erosion of trust between classes and nations — such decisions of organising economic life prove less and less effective. The appointment of a foreign affairs supreme, or more majority voting in the Council of Ministers — such decisions are irrelevant to this central problem. With trust almost any reforms can be agreed and made workable. Without it, everything will be in contention.

# A soaking for the rain man

## Rattling the bars



Ian Aitken

**F**AME IS a notoriously fickle commodity in politics, even in the Elysian Fields of the Upper House. One day you're a hero among (in this case, quite literally) your peers. The next you're dismissed by the very same peers as either a dunderhead or a doublecrosser. The latest noble reputation to suffer this instantaneous transformation is the Labour peer Lord Howell MP, this distinguished legislator became a comic anti-hero as Labour's "minister for rain" when Harold Wilson put him in charge of a drought.

As we know, he became a proper hero, this time among legions of sporting couch potatoes who feared they were going to be deprived of the opportunity to watch major sporting events on telly because Rupert Murdoch's Sky was taking it up wholesale. A former minister for sport, Howell led a successful House of Lords revolt against this outrage by securing an amendment to the Government's broadcasting Bill designed to frustrate the Dirty Deal.

But this week the laurel leaves adorning Howell's noble brow were shrivelled and blighted. The reason? He had somehow managed to cock up a further stage of this revolt by failing to tell his own MPs that he had done a backstairs deal with the Government. To the astonishment of Labour and Lib Dem peers, he unilaterally withdrew a further amendment to the Bill designed to prevent Murdoch from getting exclusive control of "highlights" as well as live coverage — and waded it in mid-debate. As a result, flocks of elderly peers who had been hauled into the House to inflict another public humiliation on the Government were left high and dry. In essence, Howell decided to trust the Government to ensure that a yet-to-be-drafted

voluntary "code of conduct" would be both adequate and enforced. It was left to the Lib-Dems' Lord Thomson of Mafeking, another ex-Wilson minister, to remark that he didn't entirely share Lord Howell's confidence in the Government's good faith.

Thomson still wants statutory control. But he won't get it because the Bill has now gone to the Commons, where the government whips keep a firmer grip on events. Silly old Denis.

**□ HURRAH** for the lady gol champion who was sacked for falling a male colleague who groped in her bosom. An example of what she had to face in this chauvinistic world came to light during a recent dinner at the Parliamentary Golf Association. A guest speaker from a South English club told the MPs about a fellow member who had reacted colourfully when he botched a vital putt at the 18th. Alas, his expletives were overheard by two lady members taking tea on the clubhouse veranda.

The ladies complained to the secretary, who promised to report the matter to the committee at its next meeting. The committee duly considered the complaint, and came up with its verdict in future, the club terrace will be barred to lady members.

**□ LIZ Symons**, the sprightly secretary of the Whitehall Mandarins' trade union, the First Division Association, has been the most vocal proponent of an assertion that the Minister of Government has become too complex for ministers to be held responsible for everything in their departments. It means, she fears, either that huge masses of government will be wholly unaccountable, or that civil servants will take the blame.

I have a suggestion. Perhaps the various Whitehall departments could follow the procedure adopted by journalists working in Beirut during a period of military censorship. Newspapers simply appointed two editors, one to edit the paper, and the other to go to jail.

**□ SPEAKING** in Lord Howell's debate on televised sport, Viscount Astor asked what sport was. Then he added: "To me, racing is sport, and I regard the rest as games." As the Welsh say, there's a posh.

# Smallweed



**F**EW speeches in the Commons or Lords nowadays begin without a declaration of interest. But this week there were signs of a new and unwelcome development. On Wednesday the Tory

backbencher Tim Rathbone opened a debate on engineering with a trio of declarations. As well as being founder-member and chairman of the all-party engineering development group, he was parliamentary adviser to Seaboard, his local electricity company — "now also he added enthusiastically a gas supplier" — and fulfilled a similar function for Chanel — "an industry leader in fashion and fragrance". Furthermore, he was a business adviser to Lexon, "a growing management consultancy deeply involved in improving the performance of many varied engineering companies in Britain and elsewhere".

This constitutes the first example known to Smallweed of the declaration of interest as free parliamentary puff. It is obvious where this will lead unless something is done to stop it.

"I act as consultant to Groggo" some shameless fellow will tell the Commons next week. "Britain's number one choice and industry leader for getting whites whiter, reducing the PSBR, and putting a jaunty spring in the step of your budgie." Smallweed calls on Betty Boothroyd to make a statement when the Commons resumes on Monday outlawing this practice.

**T**HE endless search for economies is prising some curious decisions out of local government. Cambridgeshire County Council plans to turn off one street light in eight, which many think is wacky and some think decidedly dangerous. In Derbyshire, they are planning to dish out three quarters of an apple or orange to schoolchildren instead of the whole fruit. The report doesn't say if extra staff will need to be

hired to do the dividing. Still, at least they can set the outcome as an exercise in arithmetic. As in: how many apples (or oranges) does it take to feed 100 children (a) in a national world and (b) in Cambridgeshire? Smallweed welcomes other sightings of Crazy Knts.

**I** WAS SORRY to see Birmingham City are about to sign a player from Walsall whose name is O'Connor. I fear this may mark the end of what seemed to be an ambitious experiment on the part of City manager Barry Fry in trying to create a team exclusively composed of his fellow monosyllabics. In the recent 5-2 draw at Tranmere, the centre was up to seven: Bass, Frain, Tat, Breen, Hunt, Barnes and Legg. I have also been asked to rule on the claim that the appearance of an uncle and nephew

called John and Lee Hendrie in this week's Villa-Middlesbrough match is a first. My ruling is that I haven't the slightest idea.

**O**N Monday, wrote Boris Johnson (coiner of the usage Blairocracy) but not of the usage Blairocrat) in the next day's Telegraph, the Foreign Secretary admitted the dreadful reality: that there was no issue before the coming Inter-Governmental Conference on the future of the EU where Britain would promise to wield the veto. To which he added the gloss: "All is fungible. Mr Rifkind effectively conceded."

Somewhere in a long life most of its spent reading, Smallweed had missed the word fungible, and, for once, resort to Chambers' Dictionary didn't much help. All it offered was — "Fungibles: movable effects

which are consumed by use, and which are estimated by weight, number and measure." It does not appear to derive from neighbouring words like fang (or fum), a fabulous Chinese bird sometimes called phoenix; or fungus, which as you probably know is a thallopolyte without chlorophyll.

Nor do previous uses of fungible in the papers tell a consistent story. Fungibility is mostly evoked in terms of such off-putting concepts as Eurobonds, arbitrage and catastrophe, as in: "Frenzied by the low trading volumes passing through the floor and convinced that the devil lies in the detail, the CBOET launched a new series of options on nine catastrophe loss indices compiled by Property Claim Services, a leading supplier of loss estimate data. The indices, which are more fungible with existing over-the-

counter products, cover US exposures nationally, regionally (eastern, north-eastern, south-eastern, mid-western and western) and in select catastrophe-prone states (Florida, Texas and California) and aim to capture more than double the catastrophe losses pooled in data used in earlier contracts (*Financial Times*)."

I also see that a writer in Lloyd's List recently published an article in the winter 1993 issue of the *Tulane Maritime Law Journal* mellifluously entitled "The end of maritime liens for master leases of containers: how do you provide these fungible necessities to a fleet of vessels?" which I clearly ought to add to my reading list. But how is that to be squared with a Canadian feature on black girl groups arguing that male producers tried to make girls fungible — "a legal term for not

pushing any one individual"? Or with a statement which the Independent attributes to St Thomas Aquinas that money was a fungible — "something which is destroyed in the process of using it"? I warn Malcolm Rifkind to keep off terms like "fungible" in his dealings with foreign powers. It's clearly a dangerously fungible concept.

**□** None attack, Barry's 18-stone second row forward Im Thickpenney broke the eye socket of the hooker and captain of Cowbridge RFC. In the other, a British Plastics centre received a double jaw fracture. . . . Donald Williams, defending, said: "There are things in rugby at all levels. Thickpenney is not that kind of man" — report of the case of a rugby player jailed for eight months, from *Thursday's South Wales Echo*.

Smallweed 1990



The Lord in his many forms is alive and well on the fringe of London. MADELEINE BUNTING offers a worshipper's tour

New lease of life for the buddhas of suburbia



Take a pew at... Our Lady of Willesden (left) or St Mary's with its black Madonna

HERE were two places of pilgrimage in the unlikely suburbs of north west London until last summer...

velled an \$8 million mosque among the warehouses of Northolt industrial estate...

rate — and ruthlessly expensive, confessed one worried husband — dress parade.

synagogues nearby in Cricklewood and down the road in Brondesbury Park.

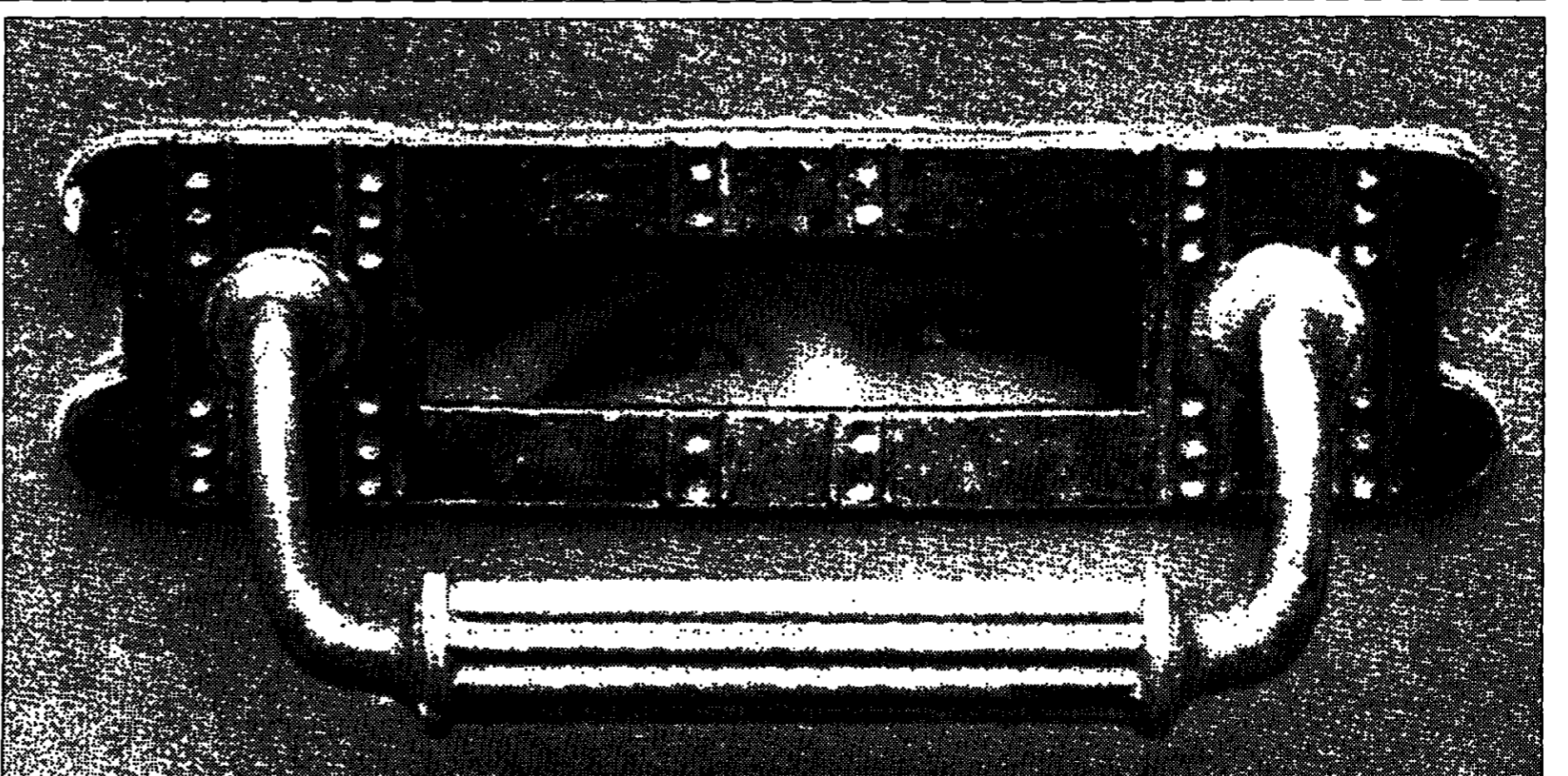
Now, St Mary's is sprucing up its image; the shrine has been reopened with a Black Madonna, a statue of Mary carved in ebony...

are expected this Sunday for a big bash. Happy clappy chappies: If you agree with Cromwell...

Baptist churches, or the churches set up when they were effectively frozen out of the Church of England...

Christians two weeks ago. "Some of you came to England after the war as Anglicans and you were not made welcome...

After Dunblane we heard a great deal about the sanctity of childhood, but given the social and economic pressures on families, what kind of life do we offer children, asks ANGELA NEUSTATTER.



The kids are not all right

DOES it need a massacre to make us care about the lives of children and the quality of childhood?

thousands of homeless families and we have children on the streets. Some 3 million school-age children are in part-time work.

but curses at the lack of provision of anything more. He says: "I have never seen her smile. She has no playfulness or joy."

Fear in their eyes... childhood has become a much more isolating experience which easily leads into alienation

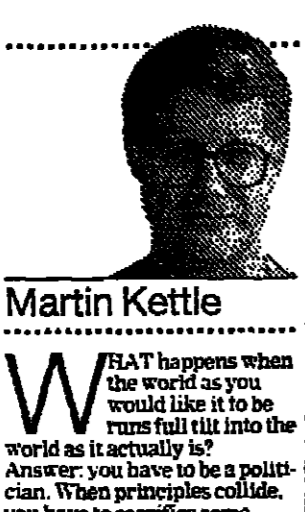


case of 14-year-old Euan, pupil at a London public school. His father would check his homework each evening when he got home and if it was not good enough would insist he re-do it.

father deserted the family when his son was very young, that he grew up believing his mother was his sister — and who knows what else within that closed household?

But childhood needs to become a political issue so that the welfare of children is high on the political agenda when any policy affecting them is made.

Shadows of doubt behind Blair



thing. More than any politician in his party's history, Tony Blair has got where he is today because of the democratic process.

Blair was also a strong supporter of constituency membership ballots for the choice of Labour candidates.

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enemies admit, is a party overwhelmingly focused on government. That is why the party is so remarkably disciplined at present.

Another round of shadow cabinet elections won't help here. Especially in the current mood.

What Blair needs is reinforcements. Reinforcements in brains, in knowledge, in administrative skills, in political seriousness, in committed allies.

They are not choosing the people Blair needs. Indeed it is all too easy to whip up hostility against such candidates, especially if they are middle-class, London-based men.



# 16 LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## The rape of justice

AS THE person who represented Ms X in her successful appeal to the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board, which had initially turned down her claim following a rape attack while working as a prostitute, I would like to correct an error in your report (March 19). You say that "another prostitute, Margaret Shields, has been refused compensation for her daughter's murder on the grounds of her prostitution." Margaret Shields is not a prostitute woman, her daughter was, Margaret Shields, and the orphaned grandson she looks after, were both refused compensation on this basis.

The CICB's discretionary powers to refuse or reduce compensation because of an applicant's "character and conduct" are used to discriminate not only against prostitute women but against anyone with a criminal record, or their family. In Ms X's case, the CICB had acknowledged that her convictions for loitering and soliciting were not related to the rape, yet she was refused. In other cases, shoplifting, drinking, and even a conviction for using cannabis several months after the rape, have been used to refuse compensation.

After years of campaigning by prostitute women and anti-rape organisations, the courts are increasingly ruling that all women are entitled to the protection of the law, regardless of "character". But they are still not entitled to the financial recognition and protection they need to rebuild their lives.

The discretionary powers of the CICB to discriminate on the basis of character or conduct must be abolished. Lisa Longstaff, Women Against Rape, King's Cross Women's Centre, 71 Torrington Street, London WC1H 9DZ.

NATASHA Walter's excellent article (Why so many rapists walk free, March 19) reports that less than 10 per cent of recorded rapes end in a conviction. I estimate that less than 5 per cent of the women who call us at Norwich Rape Crisis have even tried to report the rape to the police. The court ordeal is notoriously harrowing, so women everywhere shrink from approaching the police and starting a process which will expose them to further abuse, this time from the judicial system.

If our experience is reflected in statistics nationwide, the conviction rate goes down from under 10 per cent to under 0.5 per cent. Many women who contact us have been raped by different men at different times which reduces it further. If, for every one woman who rings us there is only one who does not, then the figure is halved. If we use the statistic representing the women who have contacted our helpline, for every man who is convicted at least 995 men go free. Emily Mumford, Norwich Rape Crisis Centre, PO Box 47, Norwich, Norfolk.

NATASHA Walter's suggestion that the victim should be involved in the prosecution betrays a misunderstanding of the justice system. It is the state not the victim that prosecutes. If the victim were involved, there would be shades of vendetta.

She also regrets that the rape conviction rate has changed from 24 per cent to 10 per cent. What makes her believe that the 24 per cent rate was appropriate and just? She puts forward nothing to suggest that those acquitted were guilty or otherwise.

I am a farmer in Aberdeenshire with some beef cattle and I am extremely concerned that our industry is being destroyed by a hypothesis. No concrete evidence has been found to prove a link between BSE and CJD. The incidence of CJD in the UK is similar to that in other developed countries.

No fault can be laid at the farmers' doorstep. It was economics that forced the feed companies to supply lowest-cost concentrates to the industry, and the Government that changed the regulations governing the rendering processes to use animal by-products in the concentrates. The farmers then used these concentrates in the best of faith to produce competitive beef products.

Most beef farmers have had no recorded cases of BSE because of their more traditional rearing methods. The meat industry has applied to this the many regulations which have been applied over the past decade to try and control the outbreak of BSE — without dissent and despite serious financial costs. J David Chalmers, Alnabreac, Cuminestown, Turfiff, Aberdeenshire AB53 7YN.



## Too many cooks made this rotten beef stew

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JOHN Major told the House of Commons that he would rely on scientific advice to determine the strategy for dealing with BSE but just how reliable has his scientific advice been?

I am a veterinary surgeon and remember asking colleagues in institutes undertaking research on BSE in the mid-1980s how they evaluated the risks. They told me they recognised the risks of BSE for humans, and although they realised how little they knew, that the uncertainties were great and the potential for harm considerable if the risks were realised, they believed there was little cause for concern.

In effect, some of these scientists misled the public and politicians into feeling the risks were minimal. It is the veterinary advisors who colluded with Maff and politicians in downplaying the uncertainty and their implications, in the mistaken belief that they must protect the beef industry by bullish denial of risks, which should be called to account. Sue Mayer, Hamerton Cottage, Fostell, Leicestershire, Leicestershire LE12 7RQ.

BSE and CJD bring to mind that for many years there has been a lot of discussion about the possible association of the viral neurological disease of sheep (scrapie) and human multiple sclerosis (affecting one in 1,000 in the UK). Injecting human MS tissue can induce scrapie in sheep — thought to be "an activation" rather than a true infection. I would like the whole scrapie issue to come under public and scientific scrutiny. Dr R J Adcock, The Furions, Afton, East Sussex BN26.

IS the government I see running the European Commission to complain about French bans on British beef the same government which propped so viciously the European Court of Justice? Perhaps if Britain had kept its nose to the grindstone and the rough with the smooth, we would not be witnessing our European partners gleefully taking revenge for so many years of insults, slight and disruptive behaviour. Norman T Shepherd, 41 St Leonards, Alton Park, London SE21 8AS.

WHY isn't the Opposition calling for the resignation of the Government in connection with the BSE crisis?

Some years ago, it was discovered that the most effective agent can infect species other than cattle. This is hard evidence that there is a risk it can infect us. And yet we have been repeatedly assured by government ministers that there is no risk.

This shows such contempt for the welfare of the people of this country that it is difficult to understand how the Government can still be in power. Nicholas Maxwell, Emeritus Reader in the Philosophy of Science, University of London, 13 Tavistock Terrace, London N19 4BZ.

WHY all the fuss over 10 years in government to ensure increasingly intensive factory farming food is not harming us all? Now is the time for more open government, willing to acknowledge scientific uncertainties, willing to engage legitimate public concern. Chris Barton, School of Geography, Oxford University.

MARY Midgeley (Away with suspicion, March 21), was right to stress we should not see the BSE scare in isolation. For it is clear that had as the BSE tragedy is, cats are not the only intensively-farmed animal.

Many meat eaters know that eating chicken may not be a safe alternative, despite chicken consumption rising as beef falls. Of the 719 million chickens slaughtered for food last year, many were reared in sheds containing tens of thousands of birds, increasing risks of disease, suffering, and making antibiotics commonplace. According to the biotech industry, we will soon be eating genetically engineered chickens. Scientists have already experimented to produce chickens containing mouse genes that will make them resistant to salmonella.

What confidence can we place in government to ensure increasingly intensive factory farming food is not harming us all? Now is the time for more open government, willing to acknowledge scientific uncertainties, willing to engage legitimate public concern. Chris Barton, School of Geography, Oxford University.

THERE is something profoundly disconcerting when academics such as Dr Midgeley take protesters who assert the rights of animals, and plants seriously. Rights mean nothing unless they can be practised. The idea that one could be hauled before a court for denigrating the "rights" of daffodils, through having picked them, belongs to the land of never-never. One should be taken back by the fact that people have such a low view of humanity that they wish to bring animals up to the same level as man. Gareth King, 22 Stoney Meade, Slough SL1 2YL.

WHO is taking the cows' point of view? First, these peace-loving vegetarians are forced with diseased offal, then millions are driven to madness and death by its use in government to ensure increasingly intensive factory farming food is not harming us all? Now is the time for more open government, willing to acknowledge scientific uncertainties, willing to engage legitimate public concern. Chris Barton, School of Geography, Oxford University.

## A publisher who needs education

YOUR readers will be dismayed to hear that a weekly magazine which has brought accurate information and entertaining reports on educational matters is to cease publication after nearly a century.

Education, which has been required reading for senior local government officials, chief education officers, heads and teachers since it was founded shortly after the 1902 Education Act, has been placed under threat of closure as unviable by its proprietor, Pitman Publishing, a division of Pearson Professional. It is expected to cease publication on March 29.

George Low, who has been with Education for 22 years and its editor since 1986, is trying to put together a rescue package so that the magazine may still appear, even if only on a fortnightly or monthly basis.

Education (the subject, that is) now stands at the top of the

political agenda. It would be shameful if the only journalistic alternative to Guardian Education and the Times supplements should disappear at so crucial a time. We appeal to Pitman Publishing to think again. We would also ask all well-wishers both in- and out-side the educational field to help save this fine journal. John Ibbick, Richard Bourne, Richard Garner, Ngalo Crequer, Barry Huggill, Brian MacArthur, Christopher Price, University of North London, 166-230 Holloway Road, London N7 8DB.

Letters to the Editor may be faxed on 0171 837 4630 or sent by post to 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER, and by e-mail to letters@guardian.co.uk. We regret we cannot acknowledge receipt of letters. We may edit them: shorter ones are more likely to appear.

## Cuckoo clock talk of Switzerland

ALAN Clark (Letters, March 22) asks us to have a shot at a "convincing argument" as to why Switzerland has the lowest homicide rate in Europe. The answer is of course that in Switzerland, most government decisions are taken at local level, in the cantons. The sensible Swiss would never give a right-wing centralised government enough power to dismantle their mental health services without an alternative system already in place. Swiss men of military age are assessed psychologically during the training they undertake before they are allowed to keep guns at home, and, if necessary, can be referred to Switzerland's excellent mental-health services. Pauline Bagg, Monkswood Avenue, Waltham Abbey, Essex EN9.

HOW about their system of democracy, which does not allow their government free rein to trample over the people's wishes once they are elected? Perhaps this gives them a feeling of control and a stake in society (that Thatcherite word) rather than the marginalisation and exclusion that the market (a rejoice word) is creating here. Hence the relative lack of mayhem. Don Kirkley, 28 Minnet Avenue, London NW10 8AH.

WHY does your Saltwood Castle correspondent not pursue his line of "reasoning" a little further, and find his explanation in the even more widespread presence in Swiss households of the cuckoo clock? Ian Short, 10 Achilles Road, London NW6 1EA.

THE Swiss inhabit a world of linguistic diversity which fosters appreciation of other cultures, not the Sun

world of frogs and krauts. And their land is not run by aged, elitist Tories looking down on a decaying society from the comfort of their castles. R Neville, 11 James Close, Chalshalton, Surrey.

[DO not fit Alan Clark's description of a typical Guardian letter writer, having no particular dislike of the Swiss, but I do refer him to this week's Economist: "In other words, law-abiding Switzerland, where most men do a stint in the reserve forces and so end up owning a gun, handgun murders are 25 times as common as in Britain." Richard Thayer, 14 rue Nationale, 67000 Bischheim, France.

Net returns

YOU claim (Opening up Whitehall, March 16) that it is nonsense for the Central Statistical Office to offer only samples free to the public over the Internet when taxpayers have already paid for their collection. Your justification is that new technology has removed our need to recover the extra cost of publication.

Yet, if our statistics are to be of practical use, their sheer volume means they must be presented in user-friendly form. Unfortunately, that does cost money. Even so, in the coming months we shall add key economic indicators to our free home page on the World Wide Web. We also plan to allow subscribers online access to our Data Bank through the Internet.

Next month, the CSO will merge with the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys. A key task is to make it easier to access and use government data. The Internet will be one way of making that possible. Philip B Powell, Director of Marketing and Customer Service Division, Central Statistical Office, London SW1P 3AQ.

## Round five

IT is Will Wyatt (Letters, March 19) who is re-writing history. The reason Ryder Cup highlights did not appear on terrestrial TV is that no terrestrial broadcaster, including the BBC, asked for them. He points to a sentence in the BSKY/PGA contract which he neatly removes from its context. The Ryder Cup was one of 16 golf tournaments in the contract which the BBC previously refused to broadcast. The PGA carefully reserved highlights of 15 of them for the BBC. In the next clause, the PGA allocated Ryder Cup highlights to Eurosport but, "for the avoidance of doubt", not to the BBC. (TV and C4 were not mentioned as they were not mentioned in the previous clause.)

Nothing stopped the BBC (like ITV or C4) approaching BSKY for highlights: the PGA told them as much. Instead, the BBC tried to pressure the PGA, through possible loss of sponsorship, by refusing to carry highlights of the 15 other events. This cynical tactic exposes the BBC's hypocrisy.

Steve Barnett has his facts wrong about news access to the Bruno fight. BSKY was willing to offer fight material during the pay-per-view window, and the complete fight thereafter. The BBC and ITV eventually accepted this formula. David Elstein, BSKY Head of Programming, Grant Way, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 5QD.

YOUR TV critic suggests that BBC2's Modern Times twice may not have presented a faithful portrayal of the people who finance the people no finance. Both films — one about three working mothers, the other about a murdered woman's family — were shown to contributors prior to transmission. In both cases there was no dispute about the film's veracity. Stephen Lambert, Editor, Modern Times, BBC Television, Wood Lane, London W12 7TS.

## Neil's transport of delight

YOUR Leader (Don't use the agriculture underspend for tax cuts, March 20) makes complete sense. Three points reinforce your argument:

- If the underspend was used to reduce the interest rate it would not mean that any country or taxpayer would be paying any more into the community budget than was agreed at the Edinburgh European Council.
- This reported agricultural underspend of £2.6 billion or more was repatriated to member states, the amounts (proportionate to their contributions to community funds) would be Germany 30 per cent, France 17.4 per cent, Italy 12.1 per cent, UK 10.6 per cent and so on.
- If about a quarter of the available funds was used for Trans-European Networks (TENs) instead of being repatriated, the money would be spent strictly in response to the applications made by member states for help with their transport infrastructure programmes. They would most certainly be "getting their money back" — and in a productive, job-generating way. The sums allocated would not be vast — about £220 mil-

## No John, no

IT is typical of a right-wing politician to hijack the music of a generation he neither understands nor cares about to back up an anti-Europeanism that they don't even agree with.

If John Redwood (There's Always England, March 20) thinks his nauseating attempt to ingratiate himself with young people will change the minds of the European generation, he should think again.

For most young people, Europe offers opportunity both for work and to broaden their minds. The European Union is Britain's future, and politicians like Mr Redwood are stuck firmly in the past. He yearns for a day when Europe returns to the way it was last century, when xenophobic politicians could really get stuck in to other Europeans without being restricted by the modern pleasantries of cross-border friendship. This is not a view that young people share. Mark Littlewood, President, Young European Movement, Dean Bradley House, 52 Horseferry Road, London SW1P 2AF.

## A Country Diary

MACHYNLETT: The phone rings. It is a friend who lives far into the loneliness of the Meirionnydd Hills and his voice is excited. "The curlews have come," he says. "Tonight they are full of curlews but they can't go up any further because the tops are deep in snow." I easily picture the scene, remembering my years in the uplands and how wonderful it was to hear the wild music of the curlews announcing the end of winter. It was a symbol of spring far more precious to us than the cry of the first cuckoo or the sight of the first swallow.

Some night in late February or early March, the upper air would be full of the voices of curlews as they moved up from the coast and passed overhead towards the moorlands, calling to each other to keep in touch in the blackness. I enjoy the thought that even in our microchip world the call still stirs the hearts of some. This has been a long, cold winter but let us hope that the snow will not keep the curlews away from the moors much longer. For once they reach their breeding grounds, their voices change and, quite abruptly, the up-

land air is full of their enchanting songs. Sadly these days our nesting curlews are at a low ebb and there are wide spaces of the hills now silent which, 20 years ago, were alive with curlews all through spring. In those days, we took them for granted; but in nature that is always a risky thing to do. Meanwhile, I console myself that there are still some curlews moving up to the high places on March nights. And that the hill people, hearing their passing, are still moved to phone their friends to report the event. WILLIAM CONDRY

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# A world class Dr Ruth for the ruthless

**JOHN CUNNINGHAM meets Rosabeth Kanter, buoyant business guru of the three Cs: concepts, competence and connections. Photograph by DAVID SILLITOE**

**O**DD lot, the Masters of Can-Do and How-To of the business and management worlds. For decades, Japan's been held up to the West as the paragon of corporate culture. But now the Japanese company man has tipped, and is turning against the gurus' teaching. He's started to take vacations; hangs out with his friends rather than loyally boozing with the boss after work; even gets home for his kid's bedtime.

But just as Newsweek this week reveals that the Japanese are getting fed up with Mr Motivator from Japan Inc, the Financial Times reports that the UK-based Standard Chartered Bank is hiring a management consultant, a former foundry worker "with a reputation for blunt speaking" to teach its staff team-working techniques based on Zen Buddhism and collective effort as practised by Nissan and Toyota.

For another approach, try Rosabeth Kanter, an American business guru. She drops companies what Dr Ruth does for sexual dysfunction.

She's the Judith Krantz of business books — between the bold, brassy covers of her tomes lie careful tales of big players with global problems, of supporting casts of workforces downsized as a result of the demonic decisions of the bosses, of devastated communities brought back from penury and pointlessness by acts between commerce and civic leaders.

Call her a guru, and Kanter, a bloody, dumpy, fiftysomething, winces. Only in the original sense of the world is she a guru — a teacher; she's first and foremost professor of business administration at Harvard. Her books might have Mills and Boon titles — *The Change Masters* and *When Giants Dance* — but they've caught the eye of the right-on think-tank in academia, as just what is it about gurus that she doesn't like?

"The image that has to do with glib, easy answers and popular fads of the moment; trying to create social movements around ideas as opposed to providing information and answers so that people can

make up their own minds." That's fine but, unknown to most bookshop-browsers and general readers, there's a whole lucrative realm of business and management books with billboard jackets and shouty titles that offer more miracle cures than a television evangelist.

There's a whiff of that in Rosabeth Kanter's approach: to survive in a market that is becoming global, firms are to be guided, whatever their size, she suggests, by "the three Cs: concepts, competence and connections". There are the five F-words she swears by: firms must become more focused, fast-moving, flexible, friendly to external partners, free from bureaucracies — and start to have fun. There's no stopping her: everyone's business card, she enthuses, should carry a motto "I tear down walls and build bridges".

Suggest to Kanter that hers is a bit of a Dr Ruth-ish response to the world's problems — capitalism is having a mid-life crisis — and she puts up her feisty academic feathers and points out that there's a lot of serious research into the problems of different commercial sectors and regions in her work.

"Compared to books in the Can-do category, this is a literary work. It has practically no Can-do. How to advice in it. I crafted this book like you would write a symphony. I worked very hard on the literary structure." Whatever you make of that remark, it certainly chimes with that unpuncturable American optimism which crusty Brits treat with suspicion, for Kanter is a cheerleader keen to get capitalism back on its feet, while telling it that, in future, it must be more considerate to customers and more compassionate to workforces. The new face of Boosterism, in fact.

"Right, I'm a booster, but one that is informed by a thorough analysis of the problems. I report the voices of the people who're very angry and disgruntled about the global economy. So I'm not saying it's all wonderful. There is a downside we have to pay attention to, but let's look for solutions." You know, boosterism is growing, even in the UK. I saw a lot of it in Newcastle — the region gets a three-page page in *World Class* for revitalising itself by spreading its tentacles to draw in a host of international firms. "To you, what I write may look like boosterism, but to some people in the United States, it looks like I'm too critical. I don't simply say everything is wonderful, but one of the themes which is in the book, and



Capitalism's cheerleader... 'Everyone's business card should carry a motto saying I tear down walls and build bridges'

which she preaches on the international lecture circuit and proposals in boardrooms and city halls, is that links and responsibilities between corporations and communities must be re-forged for their mutual survival.

The old days of the company town — paternalism some-times turning to stagnation — are over. "But what about the update? Seattle on the north-west seaboard of the US is the city many firms choose to start up or re-locate in, amid a wave of eco-friendliness and community co-operation. So you'd expect the philanthropic spirit of Microsoft, the world's largest software company, headed by Bill Gates, one of the world's richest entrepreneurs, to be much in evidence."

"But what's this little low-key revelation tucked away on page 182 of *World Class*. "It is only recently that Microsoft... got serious about contributing to Seattle, appointing a community relations director." Well, you'd think that Kanter, a sociologist by training whose early interest in uto-

pias, would have more than three lines to say about such staggering corporate meanness. How does she defend that? Gates himself is a big local giver, but Microsoft, she explains, didn't believe it was appropriate for it to contribute in a major way to community initiatives in Seattle. So why doesn't Kanter kick ass in the book? "Well, you know, I think there are a lot of ass-kickers around."

But why didn't she raise a stink about such corporate meanness? "I am trying to encourage good behaviour. My goal is to find models of potentially good behaviour. You can make change by scaring people, by threatening them or by ass-kicking. Or you can encourage better practice. That's my way."

But, considering the excesses of some big business, their exploitation of employees, customers, resources and the rest, is there much hope for the gospel of better practice? Kanter thinks there is — from time to time. She cites the case

of Levi's, who pulled out of China because of human rights abuses and led a group of companies to put pressure on the government of Bangladesh over the scandal of child labour. In other instances, what might be seen by the hard-as-nails as the solution to a company's problems, Kanter, keen to boost for Britain, is full of praise for an old Leeds firm, once family-owned and run, which faced ruin in the harsh clothing market. Cohen and Wilks International is thriving, says Kanter, because it went global, by linking up with a giant Japanese trading and manufacturing partner, Mitsui & Co.

Sounds wonderful, but in a glowing account in *World Class*, a Mitsui official says: "Our joint ventures are not about money but about human relationships."

Only a cynic would see anything suspicious in that, says Kanter. It just shows that the Japanese are prepared to nurture business relationships so that they prosper over a period

of time, rather than milk them in the short-term for fast profits.

"It's like a marriage. You can't say every day 'is the balance of payments right'. Sure, Japanese companies want to make money, but one thing we've noticed is they're a little more patient when they get into a Japanese company than companies floated on the London Stock Exchange."

Such deals, bringing together the falling and the strong, the innovative and the exhausted, Kanter sees as the commercial sense that will bring us into the next century. They will be brokered by an incipient breed of professionals, she calls the Cosmopolitans. Leaders and managers, as at home in Jersey City as Jakarta; not a class, more a caste, Kanter. From stock-gild minting world to rights. And more than a gleam in a Professor of Business Administration's eye.

"They're not Jetsetters, more inter-netters," says Kanter. From stock-gild minting come the best-sellers of the business world. Scoff not.

# Gastronauts get their ginger up for the spice of life

**The world's top foodies are on an odyssey to find new tastes, writes JULIAN DURLACHER**

**S**UPERMARKET shelves and even Delia is messing about with star anise, yet for all the cosmopolitan excitement of our cupboards these days, spices remain a mysterious quantity for most of us. But help is at hand in the form of *Interpols*.

*Interpols*, according to its founder, Alan Davidson, "the younger sister of *Interpol*, but dedicated to intercontinental investigations of mystery spices". It is Davidson's latest and characteristically eccentric contribution to food history, to join the Oxford Symposium, *Petits Propos Culinaires* (the journal he founded with Elizabeth David) and a series of classic fish books. Its remit is to mobilise a worldwide network to gather information about spices.

*Interpols*'s inception came also when Helen Sabert, one of Davidson's colleagues on the Oxford Companion to Food, came across a spice she had never heard of: *bois de panama*. Its main property is to metamorphose from an unattractive twig into a huge vat of white foam when boiled with water and whisked. The foam is used to make *natif*, a Lebanese pastry cream. Research through Davidson's own extensive library gave few clues to the identity of this inseludent, so word was put out on the foodie grapevine.

The response was such that Davidson realised he had hit upon an area that excited people: "Spices are a glamorous subject, it's an area with lots of new discoveries to be made. There are spices used locally which have yet to come to the attention of foodies in New York and Paris."

The *bois de panama* case rolled on, various theories of its identity being posited in the pages of *Petits Propos Culinaires*. It was eventually established that it was the bark of a South American tree, *Quillaja saponaria*, though what it is doing in the New East is unclear.

With the *bois de panama* case closed, *Interpols* has turned its attention to other business. The first was to investigate the use of Spanish fly (*cant/harides*) in Morocco's spice mixture, *ras el hanout*. Does it improve the flavour of the mixture or is it there to enhance the sexual performance of whoever is eating it? An agent was despatched to Morocco and returned with the news that the latter was certainly the case, though its

reputation stems more from the irritant effect it has on the bowel than any aphrodisiac quality.

Not all *Interpols*'s projects involve Near Eastern ingredients no one has ever heard of. They recently took it upon themselves to sort out the confusion surrounding cumin, which plagues western shoppers in Asiatic stores. Cumin, black cumin, onion seed and nigella are not the same thing, but borrow one another's names with such impunity that the average punter is tempted to give up and go home to scrambled egg. Another investigation covered *paillio*, a spice used in the Americas to impart a yellow colour to food. Samples bought in New York were sent to Dr Esteban Pombó Villar, a professor at Basile University and *Interpols*'s chief chemist, who discovered that they were merely stale turmeric, adulterated with an as yet unidentified and possibly harmful substance. In the process, Villar also looked into hitherto undiscovered essential oils that make up turmeric.

For *Interpols*'s interest in spices is not only culinary; spices are increasingly being put under the microscope. Eastern medical philosophies like Ayurveda are looking ever less cuckoo as scientists discover more about the essential oils of spices. *Bois de panama* is a case in point. Dr Villar reported that the *Quillaja saponaria*, which provides the frothy characteristic of *bois de panama*, are being used in research to enhance the body's response to vaccination, including an experimental HIV one.

All those findings are soon to be turned into a database, available on the Internet. Once that is established it will provide the only worldwide source of information about spices. The Net being what it is, you will also be able to access information such as the best recipe for five-spice powder or where to buy a good stick of cinnamon. Davidson's intention is to create a vast "thing in the sky", containing every piece of knowledge that exists about spices.

*Interpols* started life as a joke and is sustained through humour rather than money. But its 26 members include heavyweight luminaries of the cookery world like Claudia Roden and Sri Owen, scientists and cartoonists — like Barbara is official expedition artist (though no expeditions have as yet been undertaken).

As Davidson says: "*Interpols* has its frivolous aspects, but underneath there are serious purposes and work going on embracing botany, pharmacy, medicine and cookery." As to whether he is the shadowy figure known as "S", believed to head the organisation, he is unwilling to confirm or deny anything.

## Are Heaney and Stone so special, when France hands out thousands of medals a year, asks ALEX DUVAL SMITH

# More than enough prizes to go round

**S**INCE yesterday, Seamus Heaney has a lot more in common with Sharon Stone than he ever had before. But that may be just about the only advantage of the French culture minister's decision to appoint Heaney to the grand-sounding Ordre des Arts et Lettres.

Heaney, like Sylvester Stallone before him, will not even get initials after his name, let alone discounts in French bookshops. Unlike the Nobel Prize, there is no cheque attached to this medal — a star with eight points on an appropriately green-and-white striped ribbon.

Fittingly for a republic with a royalist mind, France is going mad. No one actually knows how many medals have been handed out since Bonaparte dreamt up the Légion d'Honneur in 1802, though there is now

some talk of entering known recipients' names on a computer.

France gives out tens of thousands of medals each year, ranging from the five grades of the Légion d'Honneur — for "eminent merit" — to the French Family Medal for being prolifically procreative.

Each gong requires a top-secret committee of 12 people, each one a bearer of the medal and charged with considering new candidates suggested by the government ministries.

Heaney's latest decoration, presented to him yesterday by the culture minister, Philippe Douste-Blazy, ranks in prestige alongside the Order of Agricultural Merit, for food scientists and farmers, and the Order of Maritime Merit, for merchant seamen.

What can be said is that Heaney is a Commandeur des Arts et Lettres, whereas Stone, Stallone and Gérard Depardieu are mere Chevaliers (Knights). There will be 29 more Commandeurs by the end of this year, as well as 90 Officers and 298 more Chevaliers.

It is all explained at the Musée de la Légion d'Honneur, which is conveniently situated next door to the Musée d'Orsay. "We have lost the Order of the Garter. Does anyone know where it is?" flapped Madame Dantigues as she perused the English collection, looking rather dusty in a grubby glass display case. The



The honour's not quite all theirs... Seamus Heaney (top) and Sharon Stone

Queen really ought to send over a replacement. The missing garter is troubling to Madame Dantigues, in her fifties, whose life has

been defined around gongs. Her father had the Légion d'Honneur, which meant she was granted a place in a special girls' boarding school, created by Bonaparte to educate the future wives of the top echelons of the Empire. Even today, the school is renowned for its discipline and the pupils still wear uniforms.

Madame Dantigues believes the Légion d'Honneur and the lesser Ordre National du Mérite are crucial to French society. Both are ultimate honours and are presented, weekly, by Jacques Chirac. His full title, it can now be said, is Président de la République Française, Grand Maître de l'Ordre de la Légion d'Honneur et de l'Ordre National du Mérite.

Madame Dantigues says: "The entire world copied Bonaparte's idea, which started with him giving out weapons of honour to his top soldiers in 1799. Since everyone has copied the idea, there is clearly a need for it."

Outside the museum it is hard to find a French person with a strong opinion about France's medalocracy. A few people have turned down decorations. Monet,

for example, and the writers George Sand — who was "afraid of appearing to be an old crock" — and Marcelle Tinayre because "medals do not become ladies".

The Casard Enchaînée weekly satirical paper is the only fervently dissenting voice. Staff at the paper know it is a sackable offence to be nominated for a gong. The political editor, Claude Angeli, said: "There is no excuse for journalists to deserve medals. The system is despicable and unjust. If you are going to decorate someone for their beauty — like Sharon Stone — why leave out Naomi Campbell?" People who have already been decorated have a tendency to feel, rather predictably, that the medals are handed out too often to too many people who have not deserved them.

Vice-Admiral Michel Debray, who received his first Légion d'Honneur grade at the age of 32, after fighting in Algeria, said: "General de Gaulle tried to cut down the number of medals being handed out by ministries. But as soon as he abolished them, there was an outcry. Medals are a very useful, populist tool which does not cost much."

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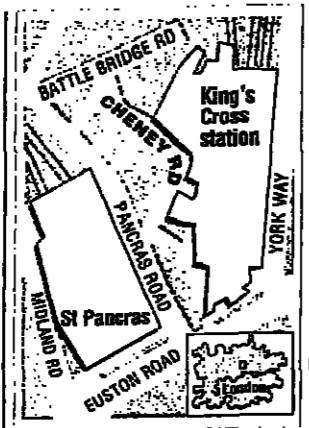
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# Does this road look familiar?

### A small King's Cross back street is London's prime film location. Soon it will face the bulldozers. MICHAEL ELLISON reports

A COUPLE of homeless men refresh themselves with industrial-strength lager in a passage yards from a sign that says "this is no longer a rubbish tip". The cobbled street that leads towards the gasworks is bordered by blackened brick walls; here, held captive between two pollution-choked roads and a railway station, is a little bit of Victorian England.



Welcome to Britain's most over-populated film location. This was the environment Shirley Valentine fled for her fling in the Greek sun; the place Mike Leigh used to evoke grim lives in High Hopes; where Eric Idle and Robbie Coltrane lumbered through *Nuns on the Run*. More than 80 films, television shows, commercials and pop videos have tapped into the instant authenticity of Chiswell Road behind King's Cross station, one of London's less sought-after addresses.

our heritage. I can sit at home and see a television programme followed by a commercial followed by another television programme and they will have all used Chiswell Road.

Burcher has lived in Stanley Buildings for 16 years. In one of 50 houses that are officially being spared by the development. He has been told to move out for the five years the rail building work is expected to take, but he does not expect the blocks still to be there when he, his doctor wife and their two children are due to return.

"The thing that makes it so valuable to the nation is its completeness. If you compare it to how it was in 1850, there are two or three small buildings gone, which returned in the 1930s, and the rest is as it was apart from the street lamps."

But soon Chiswell Road and the alleys that run off it will be removed from the film map — or at least transformed into the set for a modern car chase with a couple of nice railway stations in the background.

Work is due to start in 12 months on the St Pancras Channel Tunnel rail terminal. By the time the new tracks are in place, three of the huge cast-iron gas holders — like ornate wedding cakes with their centres scooped out — will have been moved; two cottages will have gone; part of the block of flats in the heart of the area will have been demolished; and Chiswell Road, the strongest link with the past, will have become a reputed main street.

But that does not mean the commission supports Burcher's proposal to build on the other side of St Pancras station and leave his manor alone. "It would not, of course, be either sensible or desirable to seek to oppose this major development of St Pancras which carries with it so many other economic opportunities for the United Kingdom."

"Look at that, you've seen that shot hundreds of times and even if you couldn't place it you know it's part of

There was some confusion about who were the prost-

tures and who were the actresses. I never really got to the bottom of that." In fact, since then the working girls have largely taken their business elsewhere.

"Back up in the railway yards it was very atmospheric and run down — seedy on a grand scale," says Palin. "It will be sad to see those little nooks and crannies go, but I'm interested in improved railways rather than run-down railways. You can't preserve the area for the sake of the film industry."

Colin Sorenson, curator of a film exhibition running at the Museum of London, could not disagree more. "Almost anything is possible if you've got enough money, but developers always say they haven't, so brutal steps are taken. When people were making films in the 1920s and 1930s there was an enormous amount of London that looked like it had done in the 18th and 19th centuries."

"Since the 1960s the appearance of the city has been dramatically altered. There is nowhere left that evokes industrial working-class districts, so film-makers end up down Chiswell Road."

Burcher thought a movie unit had come up the wrong road one night about eight years ago. "They had brought along Kalashnikov rifles and an armourer and were making a hell of a racket. I was a stropky fit and went down and told them to fuck off. They said they had permission, but I said they hadn't got my permission."



Street star... Chiswell Road (top) is one of the UK's most prized film locations. Its credits include (clockwise from centre left) High Hopes, Ladykillers, Backbeat and The Missionary

# Poptastic — not 'arf

## Radio

### Anne Karpf

AS IF TO prove the cyclical nature of pop-culture, Smashie is back. Alan (Phff) Freeman, he of the old unmissable Pick Of The Pops, has returned to the national airwaves to present Virgin Radio's Friday Night Rock Show, bringing his catch-phrases with him. Those who long to be addressed again with a "Greetings, music-lovers", Brian like the intros and back announcements studied with the words "Not 'arf", will now find themselves in radio heaven.

lampooped, even recently playing himself on The Harry Enfield Show. For his new show he invites listeners' album requests, to be sent to Virgin Radio in Golden Square, Sure's Square?

For the rest of us, the show is a chance to travel back to an era when jolping on the air seemed mildly subversive. Freeman's star rose in the pre-hippie early sixties, when music fans were primarily young and female, and middle-aged men like Keith Forgyce, Brian Matthews and David Jacobs were the leading mainstream pop presenters — not exactly hip followers of youth culture, but rather *in loco parentis*, keeping the whole thing in check. Freeman, on the other hand, was more like an amiable uncle who liked the stuff himself.

The addicted dancers explained some of its pleasures: an intimacy with the other seven in the set, who even go so far as to talk to one another. Twenty-three million people in Britain engage in amateur arts in one way or another. If you include crafts, and one speaker argued that their social composition and age was broader than those playing sports (as many people play an instrument as play football, and there are as many amateur painters as golfers). These activities, several suggested, keep them aloof: they provide meaning and social contact, and act as an antidote to the mindlessness of many jobs and the anomie of contemporary life.

Now we have the Internet and CD-Rom, Blur and Oasis, and Freeman is still playing music to wear flares to. "Forget Britpop," Freeman counsels. "This is Britrock." Most of his music is rock and heavy metal — Van Halen, Iron Maiden, Deep Purple, Neil Young. Freeman is constantly enjoying us to "remember". While most young people tune into his Britrock, it's what's new, this is pitched at listeners yearning after music they already know.

Yet there was nothing worthy about this first programme — only the sheer pleasure of doing something and opening up the senses. And that includes a sense of mischief. One visually impaired woman who came to a poetry workshop, because she thinks that in clay you can say what you think, had fashioned a figure. Notice the ears, she urged Titchmarsh. Why hasn't it got any, he asked. The answer struck her as obvious: it's a politician.

## Bright and beautiful

### Television

#### Jonathan Romney

USED to think the worst a nature documentary could be guilty of was anthropomorphism — "Dottie the cassowary builds her nest, lithe knowing way — perils the coming winter has in store." There wasn't any of that in *Being There, Between The Tides* (BBC2) — a portrait of a British estuary in winter. The teeming flocks of barnacle geese were not personalised in any way, but blended in with the scenery. In fact, like everything in the film, they were the scenery. You never saw such scenery — blazing red sunsets, raging tides, wisps of sand skimming eerily. Ian McCarthy's photography made you gasp — but perhaps wildlife documentaries should do something other than make you gasp.

less no-man's-land that lies between the tides. Now, I don't insist that all nature documentary has to sound lab-report objective, but perhaps a degree of accuracy is in order. Endless? I don't think so. Dungeness is probably only eight miles down the coast.

This was natural history as an A theme poster. The all-round music together with the photography somewhat convinced you that what you were seeing wasn't real. For the first five minutes I was convinced that it was all computer-generated — black wings against an unaturally luminous moon, thousands and thousands of waders in mid-flight formation. I kept thinking they were about to form into unusual shapes — an Escher bird, or the BBC logo. Tom Conti narrated in a be-attific croon, and unashably new-age nonsense it was. The moon was "a pulse from the heavens as old as time", the estuary was "an infinity of mud and sandbanks... an end-

Amid all the loveliness, you felt yourself rooting for a true geek of nature — a strange gunsey with little animal skin that came in with the tide. The Ruth Rendell Mysteries: *A Case Of Coincidence* (ITV) is set in 1964, when the British policeman's jowl hung baggy, and you could get two bottles of champagne and 20 Players for a fiver. That detail was the only false note, otherwise the sense of period seemed dead on. The programme managed to tell you a lot, just from the acting and the incidental details — the way that the victim-to-be held her cigarette in a hotel bar, as a man in the background tentatively leered at her, sketched out a whole picture of early fifties British sexual unease.

In one shot, a detective's profile by night was lit in a hazy grey backlighting. In the cinema, this would automatically have come across as the usual arch allusion to the noir tradition. But in a context of dual austerity-age understatement, it made its effect, evoking the fusty world of Edgar Lustgarten's true-crime case histories, with all their judgment and snobbery.

## MICHAEL BILLINGTON on Mary Stuart at the National

### Drama queens

NEVER thought I'd see the day: Schiller at the National. Long after Crosswicks and Glasgow, the South Bank catches up with his famous 1800 romantic tragedy, *Mary Stuart*, in which two worlds, queens and religions collide. Although Howard Davies's production is far from perfect, I commend it to anyone who cares about the history of drama or the drama of history.

Anna Massey, however, is a flawless Elizabeth. Even when surrounded by courtiers, she seems steeped in solitude. And even though she is filled with the duplicity of despotism, she makes something overwhelmingly moving out of the scene where she is confronted by an imploring letter from Mary. The other plus points in Davies's production include Tim Pigott-Smith's Machiavellian Leicester, James Grout's honourable Talbot, and Jeremy Sams's translation, full of ironic intelligence.

### Review

#### CLASSICAL

#### Cleveland Orchestra / Dohnanyi

Festival Hall, London

THERE ARE some relatively little-known orchestral visitors in the South Bank's international series this year, but the Cleveland Orchestra is certainly not to be numbered among them. For half a century the pride of Ohio has maintained world

standards under conductors such as Szell, Boulez, Maazel and, since 1984, Dohnanyi. Dohnanyi's Cleveland sound is as distinctive as that of his predecessors. It is European rather than American; secure, resplendent and rather grand and serious in character — qualities that were most obviously suited to his interpretation of Schumann's Spring Symphony. Dohnanyi took a weighty view of this work, making the sometimes difficult case for Schumann as a true symphonist: in his hands this symphony is a true, if idiosyncratic, Romantic struggle.

The most imaginative stroke of programming was the conductor's notion of running together two superficially very different pieces — Ligeti's 1961 *Atmosphères* and Wagner's 1847 prelude to *Lohengrin* — played without a break. Ligeti's piece is a wonderful exploration of subtle change. It uses a massive orchestra in pursuit of the most marginal inflections and delicate developments, evaporat-

ing finally into an entrancing moment in which the only sound is of a cloth being drawn lightly and barely audibly across the piano strings. As that disappeared into silence it ushered in the no less ethereal opening of Wagner's prelude — a clever idea, to juxtapose the two pieces in this way.

No concert by a visiting American orchestra is complete without a full-blooded virtuosic showpiece. Dohnanyi rounded off a memorable concert with Stravinsky's *Firebird*, which gave full rein to the members of the orchestra while demonstrating the discipline that was the hallmark of the Clevelanders in the days of the legendary Szell. Change and continuity seemed to be the theme of this uncommonly interesting evening. Christoph von Dohnanyi is one of the few conductors who seem able to bridge the chasm between the lost traditions of pre-war Europe and the global jumble of modern musical taste.

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Why does Peter Handke, the foremost writer in German, stand alone against most of the western world in his passionate defence of Serbia in the Bosnian war? IAN TRAYNOR went to hear him in Frankfurt

# The man who loves Serbs

IT IS A Sunday morning in Frankfurt on the River Main. The streets are dead, the high-rise temples of German high finance have fallen silent. But at the city's theatre, the Schauspielhaus, the crowds are bustling. A police cordon and electronic security screens monitor everyone entering the packed house. It is standing room only for Peter Handke.

The novelist and playwright, Austria's foremost living writer and star of the German cultural firmament, gambles apprehensively on stage to loud applause. He adjusts his glasses, peers at the audience, and with nary a word of introduction, embarks on a 90-minute reading from his new book.

It is a lyrical, finely-wrought description of a recent journey to Serbia coupled with raging invective against the Germans, the Croats, the Slovenes, the West generally and the international media in particular who are guilty of demonising the Serbs.

Handke begins diffidently, hesitantly, but as his self-assurance grows, so does his manifest anger with the rest of the world's treatment of the Serbs and his attitude to the Balkan wars of the past four years: "On my travels I, at least, did not see Serbia as a land of paranoics — much more as the huge room of an orphaned, yes, an orphaned, abandoned child... But who knows? What can a stranger know?"

Handke is no stranger to controversy. He relishes causing a stir. He has previously dismissed three of the holiest names in 20th century German letters, Thomas Mann, Robert Musil, and Franz Kafka, as rubbish. An early play from the 1960s called *Insulting the Public* consisted of four speakers spending an evening at the theatre taunting, taunting, and insulting the audience.

As soon as the Yugoslav wars erupted in Slovenia in the summer of 1991, Handke parted with the prevailing perceptions to denounce Slovene nationalism as "the most wretched and lowest form of humanity".

He reserves a special venom for his native Carinthia in southern Austria: "The old fascists, the most wretched creatures in all of Europe, are to be found in the provinces of Styria and Carinthia along the Austro-Yugoslavian border. They're the most incorrigible people. They contaminate even their own sons and daughters."

And Handke, 53, born of a German soldier father and a Slovene mother in southern Austria and also of the German-speaking '88 generation that turned violently on its parents and now occupies the high ground in the media, the academics, and politics, is also fond of venting his anti-German spleen.

It is an attitude that strikes a chord among the self-loathing Germans gathered in the Schauspielhaus. The only applause that interrupts his 90-minute reading comes when Handke attacks not the Balkan warring parties, not the Americans, British, French, United Nations, Nato, but Germany and the Germans.

Applause notwithstanding, Handke's latest book, *A Winter Journey to the Danube, Sava, Morava, and Drina Rivers or Justice for Serbia*, has the German chattering classes in uproar. From Hamburg to Vienna and beyond, the literary columns and cultural supplements have been hijacked

by outraged essayists eager to add to the heated debate Handke has unleashed. Juerg Laederach, quit his publishers Suhrkamp in protest at their winning the Handke book rights after accusing the Austrian of encouraging neo-fascism. The writer Peter Schneider, an engaged pro-Bosnian, took to the pages of *Der Spiegel* to charge Handke with criminal naivety. The Vienna-based Serb writer, Milo Dor, dubbed Handke a "clueless tourist". Many intellectuals say they will never be able to read Handke the same way again.

The row has also spread to Paris, where Handke lives,

drawing French film-makers, philosophers, and writers into the brawl, perhaps because Handke treats *Le Monde* and *Liberation* to a verbal whiplash.

In Germany, now that the Yugoslav war may be over after almost five grim years, the anguished debate over apportioning blame and guilt about Germany's role in the Balkans has only just begun.

The Germans are the key European supporter of the Croats, who if things stay the way they are, will be the next victors of the conflict. What may seem more surprising in faraway Britain is that this support is a vote winner in Germany. In a recent two-hour speech before a large, packed provincial beer hall, the Bavarian prime minister, Edmund Stoiber, made a point of including a spot of Serb-bashing in his rhetoric and was rewarded with loud applause.

Handke has blown a hole in the politically correct consensus by heroising the Serbs and denouncing just about every other actor involved in a polemic that is at once

claim, will bear witness, unearth the truth.

Handke believes in the revelatory power of The Word, in the writer as a holy scribe and the vessel of a bigger poetic force. This is a constant running through several of his novels from *The Afternoon of A Writer to My Year in the Bay of Nobody*, although he is also noted for his wordless and speechless dramas such as *The Hour We Knew Nothing of Each Other*, staged to critical acclaim by Luc Bondy at the 1994 Edinburgh festival.

As such, he is searching about lower species of the writing craft like journalism, although on the Frankfurt stage he stresses he does not want to cause an argument about the merits of various forms of writing and describes journalism as a "cousin" of his loftier calling.

Handke, whom John Updike has called the finest German writer of his generation, favours a lean, rigorous, pen-and-ink way with words, painstakingly seeking the essence of an object or character in the very act of description.

The Serbia that he finds in Belgrade and deep in the snowbound mountains and villages is a sad and lonely country peopled by proud figures returned to a pre-industrial age by years of international trade boycotts.

The simplicity of the pre-capitalist system he encounters is so attractive to Handke that he wants the country's enforced isolation maintained so that this charm is not lost, a sentiment now likely to be shared by many of those directly affected.

In the country with "the most petrol stations in the world" — people use canisters and bottles of petrol because all the garages are closed — he finds himself wishing that this custom be kept up and emulated elsewhere. In the Belgrade markets he observes the endless hagglings and bartering and concludes: "I caught myself wishing that the country's seclusion continue, that it remain inaccessible to the western or any other world of goods and monopolies." It is such passages that have

enraged his many critics who contend that if Handke went to try to understand the Serbs, he ended up patronising them.

But of the flood of criticism running Handke's way, the most devastating has come from the pen not of a German, but of a Serbian writer, the Berlin-based Bora Cosic. In a powerful response, exquisitely understated and dripping with quiet irony, Cosic wrote:

"This writer, the Austrian, draws his own quietness from the smallest things. And his every personal style, too. The very worst crimes get mentioned rather sweetly. And so the reader completely forgets that we're dealing with crimes."

A friend of mine tells me that this very style helps me to correct a feeling I have the whole time I am here. He says I'm so ashamed of being of this people and that this may be quite unnecessary. For the Austrian writer who visited my country found only very proud people there. They proudly put up with everything that happened to them, so much so that in their pride they didn't bother to ask why all this was happening to them."

Handke does ask and he finds the answers only outside Serbia. "This has nothing to do with a J'accuse. I'm only seeking justice." He then goes on to accuse all and sundry: Milan Kucan, the Slovene leader, is a "German lackey". Franjo Tudjman, the Croatian leader, is a "well-known evil". Bosnia is the "Muslim state". Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader twice indicted for genocide and crimes against humanity, is defended against his detractors, while Slobodan Milosevic, president of Serbia and the real evil genius of the Balkans, is presented as an unknown quantity undeserving of denunciation.

The real focus of his wrath, however, are the international media generally and especially Germany's foremost conservative newspaper, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, "Europe's central Serb-devouring paper". "In its core the organ of a dark sect, a sect of power, and of a German one at that. This newspaper delivers the poison that never ever heals, the poison of words." The paper, mainly through the thundering pro-Catholic, pro-Croatian editorials of one of its publishers, Johann Georg Reissmüller, has indeed been utterly central to

the formation of German policy and public opinion on the Balkans.

German foreign office staff readily admit that the Reissmüller campaign hugely influenced Germany's push for international recognition of Croatia at the end of 1991, a decision that still generates rancour elsewhere in Europe.

Reissmüller and his colleague at the conservative *Die Welt*, Carl Gustaf Strohm, are tireless in their espousal of the Croatian cause, to the extent that President Tudjman has pinned medals on Strohm. Last month Reissmüller characterised Croatia thus: "a country of central European civilisation and culture, democratic, completely geared to the West, well-ordered, economically powerful."

The media coverage, Handke asserts, has almost al-

ways been one-sided and from the non-Serb side, wilfully ignoring the Serb dimension.

In his mid-eighties novel, *Repetition*, the main character Filip Kobal crosses from Handke's native Carinthia into Slovenia in search of a long-lost brother who disappeared during the second world war. "The free world, it was generally agreed, was the world from which I had come," Filip notes after entering Slovenia. "For me at the moment, it was the world that I had so literally before me."

That Slovenia when it was Yugoslavia and cherished by Handke. But the Slovenes let him down and in 1991 he turned his invective on them in his disappointment.

Now he seems to have found the same idyll among the Serbs. Of a snowbound November day by the River Drina, he writes: "As for me, I can now say that I've hardly ever felt so fully, totally settled into, in harness with the world and what's happening in the world as during those eventful days of snow and mist by Bajina Basta on the river at the Bosnian-Serbian border." It remains to be seen whether the Serbs, unlike the Slovenes, will live up to his high expectations.

But in the Frankfurt theatre after his reading all hell is breaking loose with rival sides in the argument shouting each other down. Handke is utterly unchastened. His only regret, he says, is that his defence of the Serbs was not strong enough.

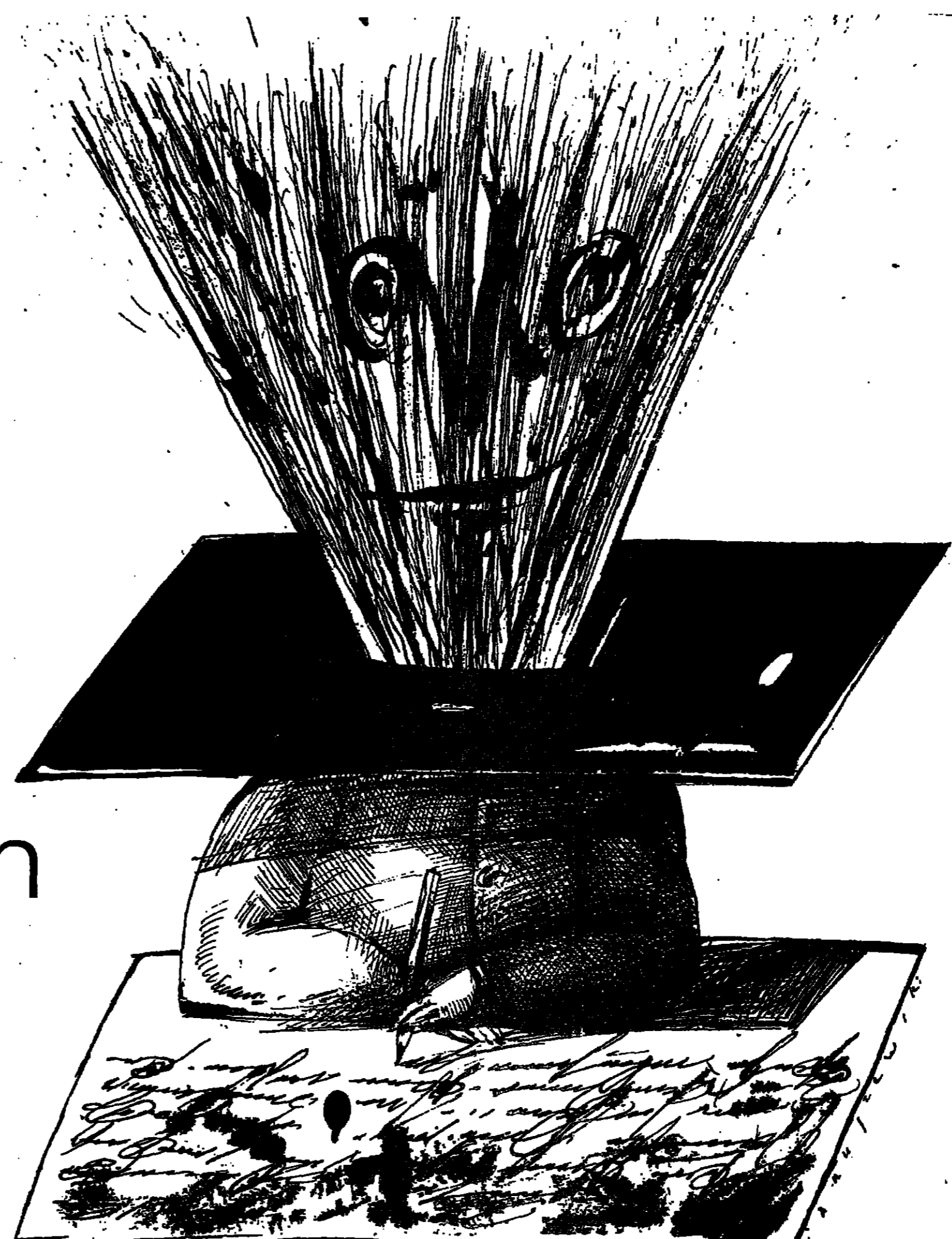


Illustration: ZYGMUNT JANUSZEWSKI

tion more or less prevailed for almost three years till Belgrade sued for peace and surrendered the territory necessary to seal the peace. Being one-sided in such circumstances was actually to mirror the situation on the ground. For a long time it was a very one-sided war.

Handke insists his mission is to bear witness and to write only about what he sees and experiences directly. It is a laudable aim, and easily the strongest parts of his book are when he does precisely that.

But he fails to observe his own injunction when, without visiting Bosnia, he starts accusing the Bosnians, without a shred of evidence, of staging market massacres in Sarajevo and doubting the slaughter of Muslims at Srebrenica last summer.

Handke belongs to those the Tudjman regime disparages as "Yugo-nostalgics". He grieves for the south Slav federation and is not alone inside or outside Yugoslavia in seeing the sum of that country as greater than its dismembered parts. In his mid-eighties novel, *Repetition*, the main character Filip Kobal crosses from Handke's native Carinthia into Slovenia in search of a long-lost brother who disappeared during the second world war. "The free world, it was generally agreed, was the world from which I had come," Filip notes after entering Slovenia. "For me at the moment, it was the world that I had so literally before me."

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Olive Parsons

Collets' driving force

OLIVE Parsons, who has died two days after her 104th birthday, co-founded...



Parsons... books for the left second larger Collets opened at the northern end of Charing Cross Road...

friend of Margaret Postgate—later the wife of G D H Cole—the socialist historian—who recalled that "very personable Jewish girl, who wore picturesque flowing frocks and a necklace of great fire-opals."

Back in Britain, in 1926 she married Parsons; it was a marriage which lasted 40 years, ended by Henry's death in 1965.

The Parsons and the Pollitts became great friends. Harry Pollitt was elected general secretary of the Communist Party in 1929, and under his leadership it made great progress in the late thirties.

At the party's King Street headquarters in Coventry, Olive would ring her up at the end of the day and say: "Olive, I'm ready". Then she would drive down from Hampstead and take him home; she also drove him to meetings throughout the country.

Olive Netta Parsons, born March 14, 1892, died March 16, 1996



Drawing on suburban life... Barry Appleby at work and (below) George and Gaye Gambol

Barry Appleby

A comfy sense of humour

THE Daily Express, in its attitudes and ethos, is widely seen as a paper stuck in the 1950s. The epitome of that is The Gambols strip cartoon, perhaps the most unchanging of all British newspaper features.



But, in truth, the Express could simply start again from the beginning and run them all again: it is unlikely that anyone would notice. The Gambols were stuck in an extraordinary suburban time-warped strip constituted a sort of UHF cartoon, never exactly fresh but, as far as the Express was concerned, never past its sell-by date.

The Larks, for many years the Gambols' rivals in the Daily Mirror, developed grey hairs and reared children who fled the nest and then produced grandchildren. Eventually, the whole family suddenly vanished. George and Gaye Gambol, Appleby's creations, changed hardly at all, except when Gaye's hemlines went up or down with the fashions. The Gambols endured.

Hemlines were a major pre-occupation except with George, who was usually reading the paper or indulging in hopeless DIY. The Gambols had no children, thus cutting themselves off from the most fertile source of domestic humour, except when their niece and nephew, Midge and Filver, made occasional visits.

There was a good reason for this, since the Gambols, quite obviously, were the Applebys. Barry and his wife Dots were also childless. They lived in a comely suburban Kingston upon Thames, and if Appleby,

he was able to sell the idea of a strip cartoon. Dots was a major contributor to the art and the humour, and for many years before her death in 1985, shared the credit. The Applebys rarely came to London, and at least one Express cartoon editor never met him; his work, although Gaye was often never caused a problem and never, it must be said, made anyone's sides ache.

It was safe, gentle, domestic humour, on a par with Terry and June. Sex never reared its head, although Gaye was often in her scanties wondering what dress to wear, and close students claim there was once, in well over 10,000 cartoons, a drawing of a topless bather.

During the Gambols' span the Express circulation has risen, although Gaye was often million to just above one million. But the paper has tried many new cartoons in that time, which never proved as popular. The Gambols might stand as a symbol of the Express's decline, but they were hardly a cause.

Barry Appleby, cartoonist, born August 30, 1906; died March 11, 1996

Alan Ridout

Words with music to match

THE COMPOSER Alan Ridout, who has died aged 61, had an ear for English poetry. Repeatedly, he found words matched to the occasion for which he was writing; and captured the poems' essence in beautifully crafted music.

Ridout decided as a boy to become a composer and entered the Royal College of Music aged 17 in 1951. He soon demonstrated a fluency which needed no stratagems. Peter Racine Fricker and Michael Tippett, with both of whom he studied privately, gave him further confidence and in 1957 he won a Netherlands government scholarship to Amsterdam.

In 1964 Alan began working in Canterbury and made for himself a post as composer in residence to the Cathedral and the choir school while retaining his London and country work. In 1968 he moved to Canterbury, finding the Cathedral and school atmosphere very congenial, and wrote operas for the boys. One of them was a moving version of Bertolt Brecht's story of the lost children of the wreck of the post-war Germany. Alan gauged the boys' ability to put themselves into a nightmarish, broken world and to sing, with heart-rending intensity, the tragedy of the dispossessed; the piano accompaniment was a masterpiece, written with skilful reticence, added to the mesmeric effect.

He repeated this coup when he wrote an "instant" opera—learned, rehearsed and performed in 90 minutes—for 200 participants. Based on Jan Palach's self-immolation after the 1968 Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, the work had a libretto on a postcard, music for voices, piano and tympani, and dramatic kick which was almost wholly musical.

Other works followed in hectic profusion; a cantata, The Quarrel, for choir, brass and percussion, written for the 800th anniversary of Archbishop Thomas à Becket's murder; a Mass for Easter, a Christmas Oratorio and a Sinfonia da chiesa for the Canterbury Choral Society; liturgical music for the Cathedral choir as well as anthems, motets, and sacred songs for boys' voices which with their brilliance and pathos, appealed to the choristers and to their audience. Nor did Ridout neglect the organ; the Seven Last Words, Sinfonia and 14 Illustrations of The Cross provided electrifying evidence of his skill in writing idiomatic music for a somewhat intractable instrument.

After the choir school joined Kings School Canterbury and repeated the composing and teaching which he found so fulfilling and in which he excelled. During these years he was constantly responding to, and never late with, professional musicians' commissions, only occasionally betraying that he might be under strain. In 1993 he moved to France; commissions continued to keep him working and Robert

Weddie's Maitrise de Choeur gave him the opportunities for further choir work. He was received into the Roman Catholic church and found solace in the community of Yorkshire's Amplesforth Abbey. His 60th birthday was celebrated at the Three Choirs Festival for which he wrote a large-scale choral work, Ode To Joy.

Although dogged by ill health he was present at the first performance and the following year attended a concert in St John Smith Square, London. There his music was played and sung by friends and colleagues in a demonstration of admiration and affection.

Sometimes hesitant in speech, Ridout was a trenchant but kindly teacher who could draw new ideas from his pupils; he gently reminded a young chorister who had written a



Ridout... eclecticism

projected Mahleresque symphony, that he would have to write out the instrumental parts, thus forfeiting his play-time for months. The pupil settled for an Anglican chant.

Fortunately for his friends Alan was a hugely prolific letter-writer; his hand was, like his musical scores, neat, elegant and economical and the letters, however long, were irresistibly readable.

Alan Ridout, composer, born December 9, 1934; died May 20 1996

Death Notices

COOPER, Miss Marjorie, 85 years into Howarth, peacefully on 20th March. Funeral services on 1st April at 11.30 am at St John the Baptist Church, Church Grove, Hampton Wick, followed by cremation at Putney Vale Crematorium. Family flowers or donations in memory to Parkinson's Disease Society, c/o Gomers Family Services, Worcester Avenue, Kingston upon Thames KT2 7GE.

In Memoriam

A MEMORIAL MEETING to celebrate the life of Herbert Wiles will be held 4.30 pm in the Lecture Theatre, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, WC1A 2AL, on Wednesday, 27th March 1996, 7.30 pm. The meeting will be held in the Memorial Trust Hall, aimed at sponsoring individuals to conduct research, and write on policy issues, relating to South Africa's educational and other needs. For more information, contact Peter Wiles, 15 Elm Grove, London NW9 6AH.

Births

GLAMORGAN On 7th March 1996, to Rachel Jane Chalmers and Andrew a daughter, Eleanor Patsy.

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Victor Zorza and Helen Chadwick

JOHN Rosselli, a former Guardian leader writer, writes: Victor Zorza (obituary, March 22) was a brave man. He had come through deportation, loss of parents, homelessness, hunger, war, and a breakdown at the end of the war which he worked himself out of by studying the regime that had brought it about. In 1956, at great risk to himself, he plunged into revolutionary Hungary even though he was stateside and might have been picked up by the invading Red Army; he sent back some heart-rending stories (one recalls his exchanges with desperate young Hungarians) and was for a time holed up in the British Embassy.

He also worked his way into a strong, sober English prose style. His first published piece in the Guardian—which I sub-edited—was awkward, here and there incorrect. These defects were soon left behind. Like very few then on the Guardian, he had a touch of genius, whether as an infinite capacity for taking pains (you might call it monomania

if you were waiting for his copy as the deadline approached) or as intuitive understanding backed by deep knowledge of Russian society.

MAUREEN Paley writes: Helen Chadwick (obituary, March 19) was an artist, an integrity as well as an influential and inspired teacher, a personality of great charisma and charm. The subject matter she dared to explore in her work excited, repelled and intrigued. She held a particular appeal for women studying and making art. She was a friend and colleague who displayed courage and strength in all things she endeavoured. Helen's clear presence was felt at any gathering whether public or private. Though she was elfin in size her image was larger than life. She was a valued member of the art world. There was not a day that went by without a request for information on Helen, such as her following throughout Great Britain as well as abroad. I feel the loss not only of a great artist but of a neighbour and friend.

Weekend Birthdays

HERMAN Ouseley, chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality, who is 51 tomorrow, makes a habit of "firsts". Born in Guyana, he was the first black local authority chief executive when he took over at Lambeth in south London in 1986. Five years later he became the CRE's first black chairman, with first-hand experience of racial harassment—he was beaten up at school, with bottles thrown through his window—and an appreciation of the lives of ordinary black people his predecessors inevitably lacked.

But despite his left-wing credentials rooted in local government, Ouseley has won widespread respect from all quarters for his pragmatic approach—including the Government—while doggedly pursuing his goal of eliminating racial discrimination. With two years remaining in his term of office, his work is cut out for him. Discrimination and race attacks continue, with unemployment among young black men up to



70 per cent in areas of London. His reputation is one of never shying away from hard truths. His verdict on the state of race relations in Britain: "There's some cause for optimism in 1996 as well as gloom and worrying trends."

Today's birthdays: Mike Atherton, cricketer, 26; Norman Bailey, batsman, 63; Sir Roger Bannister, neurologist, runner, 67; Wasim Bari, former cricketer, 48; Alan Bleasdale, playwright, 50;

Geoffrey Bush, composer, 76; Geoffrey Clifton-Brown, Conservative MP, 43; Barry Cryer, writer and comedian, 61; Rosalind Gilmore, chairwoman, Homeowners' Friendly Society, 59; Prof Kenneth Gregory, warden, Goldsmiths' College, 63; Lis Howarth, novelist, former director of programmes, GMTV, 45; Olga Kennard, research scientist, 72; Akira Kurosawa, film director, 86; Michael Manser, architect, 67; Elizabeth Sheppard, racehorse trainer, 41; Sir Denis Wright, Persian scholar, 85.

Tomorrow's other birthdays: Air Marshal John Allison, 53; Joyce Arvan, secretary, Labour Democrat Lawyers' Association, 61; David Atkinson, Conservative MP, 66; Barbara Daly, make-up artist, 51; Jane Drew, architect,

85; Robert Fox, theoretical physicist, Archie Gemmill, footballer, 49; Richard Giordano, chairman, British Gas, 62; Wilson Harris, novelist, 75; Basharat Hassan, cricket umpire, 52; John Hedgcock, former Professor of Photography, Royal College of Art, 59; Dean Jones, cricketer, 36; Sir John Kendrew, molecular biologist, 79; Sonia Lanzmann, athlete, 40; Benjamin Luxon, baritone, 59; Patrick Malahide, actor, 51; Gene Nelson, dancer, actor and director, 78; Suzanne Norwood, circuit judge, 70; Mary Pearce, FRS, molecular biologist, 48; Kathy Rinaldi, tennis player, 35; Dorothy Severin, Professor of Chemistry, Liverpool University, 54; Maude Storey, former president, Royal College of Nursing, 66; Alan Sugar, entrepreneur of the home computer, chairman, Amstrad, 49; Philip Vennart, secretary, Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, 49; Prof Harry Whittington, geologist, 80.

Faith to Face

Is the Bible anti-semitic?

David Cesarani

JEWISH studies are booming in British universities. In addition to the venerable department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at University College London, they have taken wing at the Oxford Centre for Jewish Studies while new centres have been established at Leeds University, and most recently, Manchester. These developments are of more than academic significance. They mark an epochal change in attitudes towards Jews and Judaism. The delayed acceptance of modern Jewish Studies reflected the hegemonic attitude of Christian scholars towards Jewish civilisation. Judaism was a passive object of inquiry, a fossil to be analysed by experts divorced from and usually out of sympathy with the contemporary, living traditions of the Jewish people. For too long Christian

scholarship on the "Old" Testament, mainstream Judaism is characterised as heartless and legalistic. Love and mercy are confined to the teachings of Jesus whose followers unlocked many tenets of Judaism from inconvenient religious laws. Judaism emerges from the New Testament as an execrable set of beliefs, as would be expected from a propaganda document aimed at a market rival. The most poisonous vitriol aimed at the Jews is in John 8:44: "You are of your father the devil, and your will is to do your father's desires. He was a murderer from the beginning and has nothing to do with the truth, because there is no truth in him."

As soon as Roman emperors embraced Christianity, the church fathers called on the temporal authorities to give substance and legitimacy to this denigration of the Jews. They were physically marked and confined to certain areas of

residence. They were forbidden to own land or farm. Instead, they were driven into money-lending, a despised occupation barred to Christians. The association of Jews with money built on the identification of Judas as the archetypal Jew—greedy, materialistic and exploitative. During the Middle Ages, the polarity between Christianity and Judaism was sharpened. Judas became the representative Jew, the personification of avarice, treachery and, of course, deicide.

From time to time the Jews were massacred, particularly around Easter, but never wiped out. The church wanted them preserved in a humiliated state to witness the second coming and to convert them so that, like Skylock, they could humbly acknowledge their error. Until then, their degraded condition signalled the triumph of Christianity.

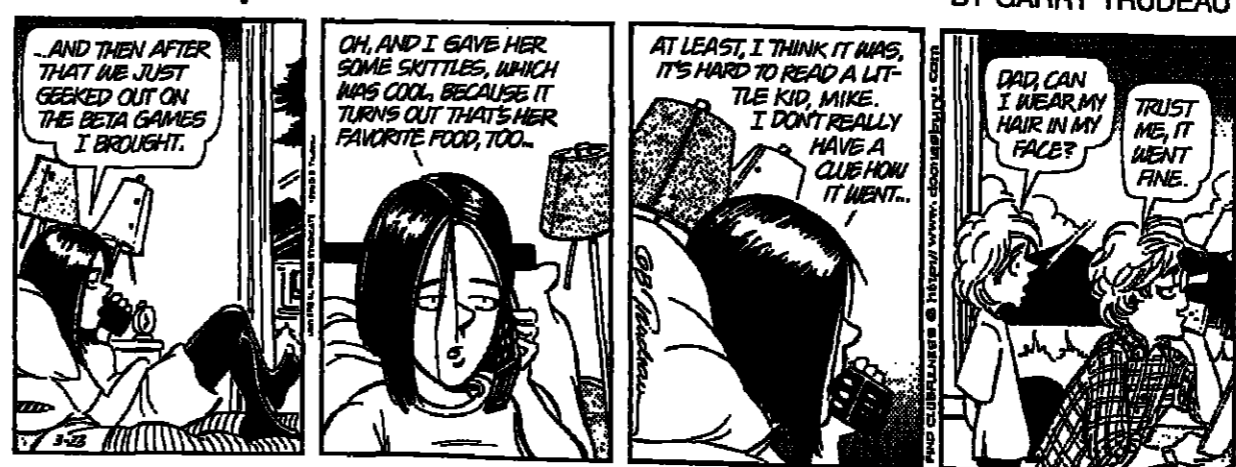
Humanism, the Reformation, the Enlightenment and secularisation did nothing to amend this parody of Judaism or the power relation between Jews and Christians which produced it. The discourse in which it was expressed was simply modified. Within the academy, biblical studies were partially de-

voted to proving "scientifically" that the "Old" Testament served only to prophesy the coming of Christ.

Christian scholars from Ernest Renan to Arnold Toynbee characterised the Jewish people as an anomalous relic, the bearers of an archaic system of belief, whose morals and behaviour, rooted in primitive times, were dubious if not iniquitous. To this extent, universities throughout Europe smoothed the path for political anti-semitism and, ultimately, the Final Solution.

Jewish Studies challenge the stereotypes of the Jews and Judaism rooted in Christianity and European culture and helps tame the elements of Christian thought which have been responsible for anti-semitism over

Doonesbury



BY GARRY TRUDEAU

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# When clampers put in the Denver boot

Richard Colbey

**M**ORE than a decade after its introduction, the debate about wheel clamping continues. To some it is a form of extortion; to others a legitimate way of deterring illegal parking. But although the Denver boot has become a permanent feature of our motoring lives, the law relating to it, in England and Wales anyway, is vague.

Police and local authority powers to clamp, and indeed to tow away, vehicles illegally parked are relatively straightforward. The driver, however aggrieved, must pay the release fee. The accompanying fine can then be challenged, and, if it was not properly issued, the clamping fee will be returned.

Private clamping is a more contentious area. It has become a gold mine for a few unscrupulous operators. At worst, a piece of privately owned waste land near a shopping centre would be rented by the clumper, a virtually invisible sign erected saying vehicles would be clamped and only released on payment of a substantial fee.

Such conduct — particularly if there is not a clearly displayed notice and the release fee is disproportionate

to the costs of clamping — is illegal, at least in the civil sense. However, when it happens there is little most victims can do except pay up. Strictly speaking, the police have no right to intervene, but it is possible that they would be prepared to put pressure on the clumper if the victim were, say, a woman with young children or a pensioner. A civil court would, if a case were brought, order the clumper to return the money

**No matter how frustrated drivers may be, they must not remove the clamp by force**

and probably pay a bit more on top. But the relatively small amounts, and the fact that getting money out of a cowboy clumper could prove impossible, makes that course impractical too.

However frustrated the driver may be, he or she must not remove the clamp by force. Roger Lloyd did so after his car was clamped in a private carpark in Southampton. He was convicted of criminal damage before the local magis-

trates and fined £250, which was upheld on appeal.

A solicitor whose car was clamped while he had been appearing in court, also in Southampton, went back to the court and obtained an injunction from the judge requiring its release. When the clumper received the order and did not immediately comply the judge threatened to commit him to prison. Getting such an order is not practical for those without an intimate knowledge of court procedures, and many judges would, anyway, have refused to grant it in those circumstances.

Another person who got involved in litigation when his car was clamped was Colin Fink, an Oxford doctor. He suffered the indignity when he visited a hospital which had, unknown to him, just introduced a clamping policy. His car was only released after he signed a form agreeing to pay £25 within 14 days. He did not pay, and the clamping company decided to sue for the £25.

The resulting trial engaged Oxford County Court for five days, before being decided in Dr Fink's favour. The judge considered that the result would have been different had Dr Fink actually seen the notice displayed.

In Scotland the position is clearer: private clamping is regarded as extortion and not allowed. Two clampers were successfully prosecuted for the offence when they refused to release a car in Strathclyde until the owner paid £45. Sadly for those whose cars are detained, this offence does not exist south of the border, and so the idea of a clumper in the dock is no more than an agreeable fantasy.

Richard Colbey is a barrister.



Wheel of fortune... aggrieved drivers can challenge a fine PHOTOGRAPH BY HAMILTON WEST

# Better travel hopefully and return safely

Mary Russell

**T**HE British, it seems, are a restless lot. Last year, something in the region of 40 million travelled abroad leaving the other 16 million to stay at home. Some went off on business, some on pleasure — including 14 million package-holiday makers — while the lucky ones managed to combine both. Those without the foresight to take out travel insurance who later ran into trouble will have learned to rue the day.

Insurance for the traveller, these days, comes standardised for the package-holiday maker and the family with two children, or tailor-made for the frequent and independent traveller. People who have one annual holiday may well be satisfied with the insurance offered by their tour operator and this is often compulsory.

If you travel abroad three or four times a year, it may save time and money to take out annual insurance cover. Thomas Cook — requiring the services of Home and Overseas, part of the Eagle Star group — offers this, for one person, for a premium of £125, increasing to £300 to include a spouse, and to £255 for a family of two adults with two children.

Commercial Union provides annual insurance only to clients who are already CU household policy holders. The premium for one person is £83 and for a family with two children, £145.

If you travel abroad frequently or are likely to want to stay in one place longer than 60 days at any one time then it may be worth looking to travel insurance brokers for a policy specific to your needs. Avoid insurance agents tied to one company and not, therefore, in a posi-

tion to trowl around on your behalf.

As with everything else, of course, there are brokers and brokers. One reader reported discovering that, when she telephoned to renew her annual policy, the broker to whom she had paid her premium had ceased trading. It is at this point — before the chill of fear sets in — that you need to consider what exactly you want from your travel insurance. Is it to get the car home, replace money lost or stolen, or pay for treatment of a leg broken on the piste. Or is the bottom line, plain and simple, to be airlifted, in a hurry, to somewhere where proper treatment can be provided? For most travellers, the answer will be the latter. When looking for a broker, therefore, in which you can have confidence, safeguard yourself by checking the company's credentials. Does its letterhead carry the letters BITBA, indicating it is a member of the British Insurance and Investment Brokers' Association? Some fine insurance brokers are required, under the Insurance Brokers Registration Act, to take out indemnity insurance against financial trouble.

Before paying a premium, find out who the underwriters are so that if you have a problem with an unsatisfactory broker, you can take the matter with them. Nothing, however, will compensate for finding yourself in a remote region, ill or injured and unable to get to the sort of help provided by a reliable insurance policy. Mark Rands of Green Flag, aka the Travellers Medical Service, oversaw the emergency airlifting and repatriation of more than 100 people last year.

● BITBA will supply a list of its members in your area. Tel: 0171-633-9043.

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## Get cover when heading for the sun

**Nick Pandya**

**T**HE ANNUAL migration of thousands of holidaying Britons to the continental sun spots is only days away. According to P&O ferries, bookings are up 40 per cent on last year, with more than 100,000 motorists expected to take a European holiday this Easter.

Carrying a green proof-of-car insurance card is no longer a legal requirement. However, this message has not filtered through to all continental motorists. French gendarmes were earlier this month fining British motorists arriving at Channel ports without a green card. So it is still sensible to carry one.

As a precaution, you should also tell your insurance company before taking the car abroad or you could find your cover restricted to the third-party legal minimum.

If you have comprehensive UK cover you will need to extend this for overseas trips. Some insurers, such as General Accident, issue a European certificate automatically with policy documents, while others charge up to £30 extra to cover the car abroad, according to the AA insurance service.

In their haste to get to their holiday heaven, one in three motorists leaves home without proper cover to rescue them should the car break down. Each year the AA saves around 30,000 motorists from heartache on the hard shoulder, shipping home more than 1,000 cars which are beyond repair.

The chance of even a minor mechanical problem while in Europe is enough to make taking out a rescue package, costing around £40 for 14 days, worthwhile.

French garages charge £150 to tow away a car and hiring one at short notice can be expensive.

If your car is more than four years old there is a 25 per cent chance that it could break down — and if repairs prove impossible, it may be more cost-effective to scrap the car and fly home rather than paying to ship it back. Transporting an immobile car from, say, Bordeaux to Dover, could cost more than £1,500.

The AA and the RAC still have a monopoly on this market, but other organisations are competing heavily on price. Rivals include National Breakdown, Britannia, Europ Assistance and Mondial. AA's Five Star deal costs £44.75 for a fortnight's motoring in Europe and RAC's Reflex Europe costs £46.75.

Like-for-like comparisons are not always easy. You need to judge precisely the cover you need — including duration and any provision for a caravan or trailer.

Sun Alliance is offering its policyholders European breakdown cover for a year at £45.

The biggest selling point for these rescue services is the promise of a calming English-speaking voice on the other end of the emergency response line who can summon help anywhere in Europe. Some of the services have their own rescue patrols, while others use a network of local companies. All promise a speedy roadside response and will tow your ailing car to a service station — or, if necessary, return it home.

There are several feel-good add-ons such as emergency loan facilities, additional hotel costs, car hire and provision of a driver if the only one in your travel party is incapacitated.

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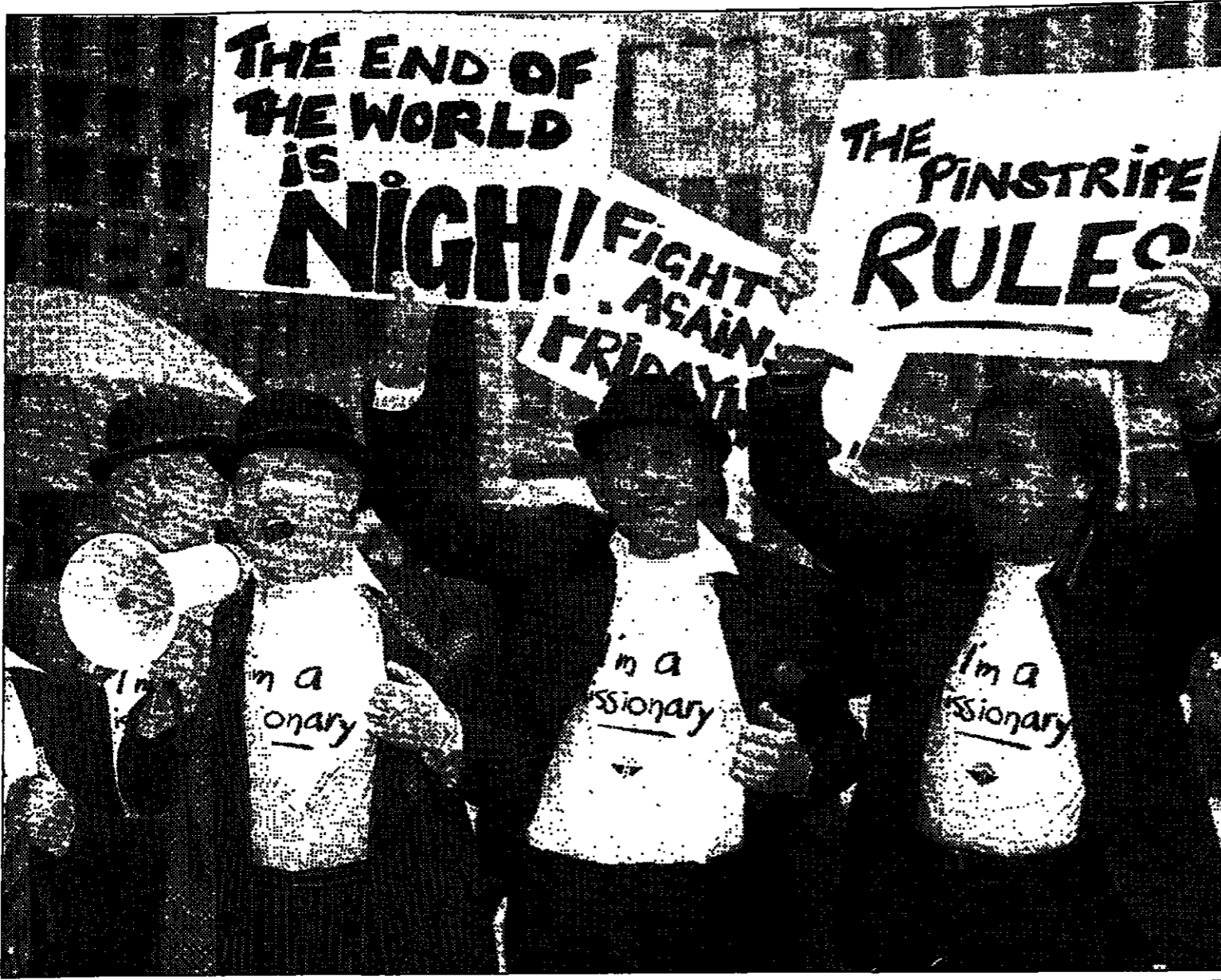
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Casual style suits pickets

PINSTRIPED pickets descended on the City of London to protest against the office suit yesterday. Banned commuters watched protesters in suits and bowler hats shout mocking chants of "I don't want to lose my suit", and wave signs reading "I love my suit", and "Fight against Friday wear".



Saturday Notebook

SFO has strength of its conviction



Alex Brummer

IT MAY have been a long time coming for the much-maligned Serious Fraud Office, but it has finally obtained a clear-cut jury conviction — against Elizabeth Forsyth, former personal assistant to the Polly Peck financier Asil Nadir.

around half of the goods it does source from abroad are re-exported. Given these numbers, it is ironic that a company which takes so much care in manufacturing as much as possible in the UK — because it believes that is the best way of ensuring the highest quality of merchandise — should have found itself criticised over working practices in an overseas plant and mislabelling both charges which M&S is contesting vigorously in the law courts.

Drugs group pays £16.2m to bosses as 7,500 staff face redundancy • Sacked director picks up £3.8m

Fury over Glaxo 'fat cats'



Sir Richard Sykes... another generous bonus

GLAXO Wellcome was last night accused by unions of "fat-cat greed" as it emerged that its top 28 directors picked up annual salary and pension packages worth more than £16.2 million at a time when the company is in the process of axing 7,500 staff.

package soar to £2.148 million, plus a separate £403,000 contribution to his pension fund and 433,264 share options at £5.50p a share.

ate staff — increases for the rest of the workforce averaged 4 per cent and the enlarged company is still in the process of a redundancy programme.

series of corporate governance recommendations calling for greater disclosure in company annual reports.

Guinness pays £463m to buy back shares

Lisa Buckingham

DRINKS group, Guinness, yesterday spent more than £463 million to buy back a large tranche of its shares. The group, whose profits growth is caught in a sluggish worldwide demand for spirits, decided to purchase 200 million of its shares.

Paris Bourse rocks with drug takeover rumours

Mark Milner European Business Editor

THE Paris Bourse yesterday became the latest victim to succumb to the outbreak of merger speculation which has swept through the world's pharmaceutical industry after a report of a possible alliance between Elf Sanofi and Rhône-Poulenc Rorer.

Airport veto puts jobs at risk

Nicholas Bannister Technology Editor

BRITISH Aerospace said yesterday that jobs at its Filton airfield were at risk after a government decision to refuse its request to turn it into Bristol's second commercial airport.

However John Gummer, the Environment Secretary, yesterday refused the necessary planning permission, following a £1 million public inquiry last year.

development centre on the site. But several hundred people run the airfield, which is used daily for flights to and from Airbus Industries headquarters in Toulouse.

gers last year. It has planning consent to build a new £17 million terminal but is still seeking to raise the money outside the public sector borrowing requirement.

Accountant fiddled firm of £500,000 to fund lavish life

Financial staff

FINANCIAL controller, who set himself up as "the man about town" in an elaborate fraud, was jailed yesterday for 18 months.

Guardian Live Wire debate

John Monks, the TUC general secretary, is our guest for the second Guardian Live Wire debate on the Internet tomorrow from 7pm to 8pm.

Table with 4 columns: Country, Bank, Rate, and Currency. Includes Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Turkey, USA.

Chemical puts K... for jobs

Day

Maritime... loser from

B



# Chemicals sector puts Kohl alliance for jobs to test

Chancellor's home ground is laboratory for tripartite attack on Germany's increasing unemployment. MARK MILNER reports

IT WAS the Rhineland Palatinate that provided the springboard for Helmut Kohl's rise to the Chancellery in Bonn. He still lives in Ludwigschafen, the state's industrial heart. It is appropriate, then, that events in city and state may play a key role in a project close to his heart — and his political future.

Mr Kohl has thrown his considerable weight behind hopes that a tripartite "alliance for jobs" of government, unions and employers might just come up with ways of tackling the problem of unemployment. In January, the three groups agreed to try to halve the number of unemployed — now in excess of four million — by the year 2000.

The idea of a trade-off between job creation and wage restraint came, originally, from IG Metall, the dominant trade union in the engineering sector — where it has already run into trouble. This week a key employers' leader described it as "dead" in the format put forward by the union. But then the union format envisages a switch from overtime working to job creation while the state's employers' organisation, in the shape of Werner Stumpfe, its president-elect, is looking for a 20 per cent cut in employment costs to boost German competitiveness.

Publicly, the working hours are to be averaged over longer periods, allowing firms to match workers' hours to demand; companies in trouble can cancel the annual bonus, which can pay around 8 per cent from pay bills. The indus-

try's long-term unemployed can be brought back into jobs at 80 per cent of normal wage levels.

So other industries would have some way to go just to get to where the chemicals industry is now. Nor is it clear what the two sides in the industry have to offer each other in terms of further flexibility, wage restraint or new jobs. Mr Jahn, for example, is not prepared to be drawn on the kind of new money the employers might be prepared to offer. No surprise there. Few organisations choose to negotiate in public. Nor is he specific in terms of a job-creation package. Assurances of goodwill, rather than specific numbers, seem likely to be the first response.

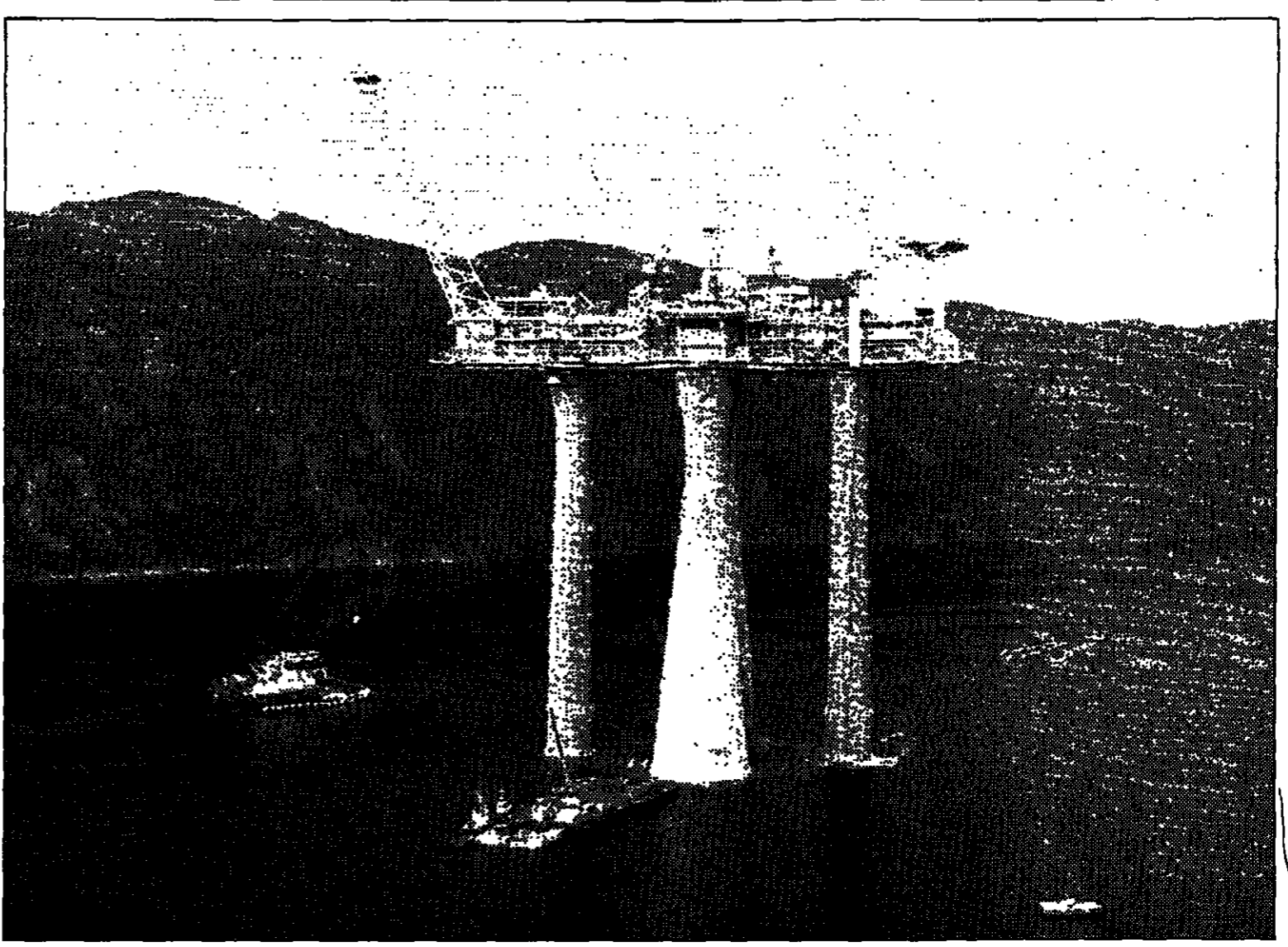
THE employers' side has its problems, too. The big groups, like BASF, Bayer and Hoechst, are rolling out handsome profits and, despite complaints about the strength of the mark and worries about competitiveness, look likely to do fairly well again this year. But the vast bulk of Germany's chemicals companies — more than 1,600 of Bundesarbeitsgeberverband Chemie's 1,700-strong membership — are small to medium-size enterprises. They are not enjoying the near-boom conditions of the big firms. The employers' organisation is all too aware that if it gives away too much at the bargaining table, it may face a backlash from many of its members.

Still, given the nature of relations between the two sides, Chancellor Kohl will probably be spared the short trip down the road from home to bang heads together. Whether the same can be said of other industries remains to be seen.

However, wage negotiations are already under way. For negotiating purposes, the west German chemical industry is divided into 10 regions, roughly but not exactly corresponding to the Länder (states) structure, but to avoid duplication, a settlement hammered out in one region is applied to all. This year the negotiating "test bed" will be the Rhineland Palatinate, and the area's biggest chemicals industry employer is BASF, located in the middle of Ludwigschafen.

Burkhard Jahn, a senior official at the chemicals employers' group, Bundesarbeitsgeberverband Chemie, reckons the industry could duplicate a settlement in efforts to put together a national "alliance for jobs" pact. If the chemicals industry can reach a deal "it would send a very strong signal to the rest of the economy. It would be a sign that the partners in the labour market have realised the problems we are facing and are able to deal with them."

There are hurdles along the way, however. As Mr Jahn points out, the pragmatic relationship between the employers and the industry's key trade union, IG Chemie, has resulted in more flexible working practices than many other industries enjoy. As a result, working hours can be averaged over longer periods, allowing firms to match workers' hours to demand; companies in trouble can cancel the annual bonus, which can pay around 8 per cent from pay bills. The indus-



Concealed riches... The giant Troll platform at Stavanger is a potent symbol of Norway's economic prosperity

# Why Maastricht super model said No

SARAH RYLE in Oslo examines an economy which has thrived since its people rejected membership of the EU

DESCENDING on the Norwegian-owned Gullfaks Alpha North Sea oil rig in a helicopter, you get a bird's-eye view of a key reason behind Norway's rejection of European Union membership.

Up on the drilling deck, the combination of power and the sheer size of the structure, in height second only to the Troll platform, which is visible on a clear day, add to the notion that Norway has no need of protectors.

After Saudi Arabia, Norway is the second biggest exporter of oil in the world, putting out three million barrels a day. Then there are sizeable gas exports to consider.

Little wonder that in November 1994 Norway, unlike similar-sized nations, felt confident enough to reject EU membership, by a vote of 52 per cent to 48 per cent.

Senior ministers in the government — the same one that lost a unified "Yes" campaign — claim there are other reasons behind the "No" victory.

There was a powerful lobby of fishermen and farmers who feared for their resources and their subsidies (much more generous than under the Common Agricultural Policy). And a general dislike of centralisation probably did not help.

But, unlike in Sweden and Finland, Norway's economy was basically in good shape. The statistics suggest that Norway has not suffered at all from her isolation in Western Europe. Norway is, in fact, the only country other than Luxembourg that has already achieved all the Maastricht criteria for monetary union. General government net borrowing this year is expected to

materialise. Unemployment (considered to be "politically unacceptable" at 6 per cent) has fallen to 4.5 per cent and is expected to fall in the near future to 4 per cent, though that is still regarded as too high.

Trade abroad did not suffer following the 1994 vote. The Norwegian finance ministry forecast a balance of payments surplus for 1996 of \$8.3 billion

and economic stability has been won because Norway has sought actively to remain as close to the EU as possible. Finance minister Sigbjørn Johnsen, who plays in a heavy rock band for fun, said that the krone had to be guarded from damaging speculation.

Mr Johnsen, whose government colleagues were unanimously behind a "Yes" vote, said: "We held our heads very low for two hours after the referendum result. Then we said, well, this is how it must be. We must work even harder to be the best Europeans." But

such an unusual economy in Western Europe that the rules of Maastricht might not be best applied there.

Professor Jan Haaland said: "Norway needs to set its own monetary policy. It would not benefit from one set by somebody elsewhere."

"But we perhaps could do with Britain or Denmark not meeting the criteria, for if monetary union goes ahead, that could be very bad for the krone."

The professor said Norway would never really need a broad manufacturing base, despite political aims to invest in it. "We do not really need the sort of foreign investment, or domestic investment, which creates local jobs," he said.

Instead, Norway will rely on hi-tech expertise and its other traditional industries — shipping and fishing — which are both performing successfully.

Until the next wave of enlargement, the European question is now considered on all sides to be a non-starter. The only problems are wealth, political representation in Europe, to achieve which, through the back door, ministers have worked hard through their Nordic neighbours.

Not even the projected decline of oil revenue in the early part of the next millennium disheartens the Norwegians or provokes second thoughts.

Norway is the only country other than Luxembourg that has already achieved all the criteria for monetary union

# Big Mac pays out £83m for foothold in pizza land

John Glover in Milan

AMERICAN Fast-food firm McDonald's is continuing its campaign to ensure that no one, anywhere, who fancies a Big Mac need ever go without. After heading south with the Mac's, an aircraft painted in company colours and with waitresses instead of stewardesses, McDonald's has finally burst into pizza land.

Under a letter of understanding signed in 1993, McDonald's will buy the 80 restaurants belonging to Burghy, Italy's only national burger chain. The price of the operation is

understood to be in the region of 200 billion lire (£83 million) about the same as the Burghy's annual sales.

McDonald's, which boasts it opens three restaurants a day worldwide, has never really got its teeth into the Italian market. Since its arrival in the country in 1985 it has succeeded in opening only 38 outlets, with 1995 sales of 107 billion lire. About half of those have opened in the past 18 months, following the arrival of new management and a strategic link-up with the Agip chain of filling stations. This made its purchase of the Burghy chain a strategic necessity

and helps account for the generous price paid.

The difficulties McDonald's faces in Italy are not unique. It makes it one of the more illustrious victims of Italy's famed bureaucracy, capable of halting in its tracks even an aggressive £12 billion a year multinational by denying it the necessary licences to open. Burghy, with its local contacts, had more luck with the bureaucrats.

The seller is a company belonging to Luigi Cremonini, one of Europe's largest meat processors. Cremonini will continue to supply the meat for Italy's Macs for the next five years and will be granted a shot at supply contracts abroad.

# Maritime history 'is net loser from fish quotas'

Campaigners urge Britannia to waive the rules by ending 'legalised vandalism' of old trawlers. MARTYN HALSALL reports

BRITISH fishing boat enthusiasts are trawling Europe to stop the destruction of historic craft. They are hoping to influence government policy and plug EU loopholes before a further round of "legalised vandalism" is sanctioned from 1997.

Some 458 UK boats were decommissioned and only nine rescued for other use between 1993 and 1995, says the 40 Fishing Boat Association, a coalition of individual owners and organisations committed to preserving vessels more than 40 years old.

Another 150 boats are facing destruction this year, at a cost to the taxpayer of £12 million. Only 96 boats built before 1960 remain and, the association says, they are increasingly under threat as the Government tries to reduce further the UK's catching limits in line with European quotas.

When boats and licences are decommissioned, owners receive compensation according to the size of their vessels. The association says grants often far exceed the value of vessels, enabling owners to buy new boats capable of heavier catches which flout European conservation policies.

Some increased catches come ashore as "black" (above quota) fish, making up to 40 per cent of total landings.

"They may go to a port where there is not a fisheries officer and land it there," says the association co-founder, Michael Craine, of Onchan, Isle of Man.

"We have heard of a case of a fisherman being in tears as he's watched his boat broken up," says Mike Smythe, a boat designer of Dwyer, Anglesey. "I call it legalised vandalism; it's just a crazy policy..."

All our fishing heritage is being burned on the beaches. More than 1,000 boats are being scrapped in the past 15 years. The association is briefing MPs and examining other countries' practice in its campaign for licence-only decommissioning and more flexibility over the boats' uses.

It says: "Most other European countries are not operating a blanket policy of the scrapping of boats... We see no commonsense reason for this government to operate the present system."

The association says there is a ready market for the boats in the UK as non-fishing vessels or for sale to non-EU countries. Shipbuilders were also affected as construction and repair declined.

The Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food says: "We do try to create flexibility in this and there have been examples of boats used for other purposes." It added that Britain needed to reduce catches to conserve stocks, some of which were at record low levels.

# Expanding Emap fails foul of new staff in France

Alex Duval Smith in Paris

EMPIRES like Hachette and Bertelsmann are looking to their laurels as an unglamorous British regional newspaper and magazine group inches its way into the upper echelons of French publishing.

But Emap, which with its purchase of a leading entertainment weekly will next week consolidate its position as France's third biggest magazine publisher, has sailed into an industrial dispute.

Staff at the two million-circulation *Téléstar* listings magazine and the 500,000-circulation *Top Santé* are unhappy at the manner in which they have been sold by CLT (Compagnie Luxembourgeoise de Télédiffusion).

CLT put the magazines up for sale last autumn to raise money for its venture into digital television.

After a bidding battle

against Prisma, the French arm of the German Bertelsmann group, Emap is next Friday expected to hand over *Téléstar* million (£180,000) for *Téléstar* and *Top Santé*.

But Nelly Zeitlin, spokeswoman for the journalists' union at the magazines, said the 110 staff had not been sufficiently consulted about the sale. They have threatened to take strike action on Monday, unless Emap reveals more of its plans for the magazines and offers job guarantees.

She said: "We learnt of the sale and, later, of Emap's successful bid through the newspapers. CLT never informed the staff or even the workers' council. Emap already owns *Télépoche*, which is *Téléstar*'s nearest competitor, so we are obviously concerned about Emap's plans for us."

Workers' councils exist in every French company and, while they have no power of veto and are sworn to confidentiality, are a key element in French industrial relations.

A spokesman for Emap said: "We are not in the building yet — we are not the owners — but we have, out of courtesy, had some contact with the staff. We are not in any position to reveal plans for the magazines until we own them." Managers and staff were due to meet yesterday in an attempt to avert Monday's strike.

Emap, which in Britain owns the successful *Q* and *Empire* magazines, began making inroads into the French market in 1989 when it bought shares in several ailing titles, and added ten from Hersant in 1994.

# Demolition gypsy sets out to build empire

Tim Smart in Budapest

DRESSED in a full-length black leather coat, Gyula Sarkozik cuts an incongruous figure as he walks around the muddy construction site in north Budapest. His coat covers a squat figure — "barrel-shaped" is his description — topped off with short-cropped hair above his swarthy, pudgy face.

He checks on the progress of one of his employees compacting the foundations of a new office complex.

Three months earlier Gyula was wearing overalls and gently chipping away at the base of a 30-metre chimney on the same site. He and his father, Gyula senior, watched

for any sight of the impending collapse. One more tap and the chimney toppled. Gyula and father were obscured by dust, as the plummeting brickwork brought down the shell of a neighbouring building, precisely as planned.

At just 24, Gyula has overcome both his background as a gypsy and Hungary's harsh recession to become a winner during the transition from communism to capitalism.

Unemployment among Hungary's gypsies is roughly 40 per cent. Gyula's race, which constitutes about one in 15 of the country's population, accounts for roughly 60 per cent of those in prison. Gyula, though, was schooled in the art of demolition from the age of 14 by his father, a gypsy

leader and strict disciplinarian.

Bedecked with watch, chains and rings of made-of-gold, Gyula goes nowhere without his mobile phone. "I am always looking for business," he says.

His company, named Kiss Ildiko Enterprises after his wife, turned over 100 million forints (500,000) last year, he says. His car, a 500 series Mercedes, is worth about £150,000. "I don't like paying tax," he grins.

This year Gyula is pushing for more work abroad. He already has experience in Germany, hauling down a 60-metre chimney near Frankfurt. In April he hopes to win a contract to demolish a factory in Kassel.



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# Finance Guardian

## King-size crisis for tobacco

### Fraud allegations, lawsuits, whistleblowers... but is this the last round-up for Marlboro Man? MARTIN WALKER reports from Washington

THEIR share prices collapsing, their corporate chiefs tanned with prison terms, the lawyers circling like sharks, it looks like dog-eat-dog days for the tobacco companies.

Civil lawsuits, brought by lung cancer patients and their heirs, and now by five American states hoping to recover their public health costs, threaten to plunder their corporate treasuries.

The Clinton administration is pushing a new law to prevent teenage smoking that would impose a \$1 million (£660,000) fine on a retailer selling cigarettes to people under the age of 21.

More bad news hit Philip Morris this week after the US government said it had sworn evidence from three of the firm's senior research staff that could put their former bosses behind bars.

Philip Morris yesterday took out full-page advertisements in the New York Times and other leading newspapers to complain about the phrase "nicotine manipulation".

It said: "We work hard to ensure the consistency and quality of our products — and quality control, no matter what the product or service, does not constitute 'manipulation'. Attention to quality results in published specific 'tar' and nicotine ratings for every brand."

Two years ago, appearing before a Congressional committee, the then-president of Philip Morris, William Campbell, said on oath that the company "does not manipulate nor independently control the level of nicotine in our cigarettes".

Congressman Henry Waxman, a Democrat from California who organised those committee hearings, called the various corporate chairmen and presidents and chief executives officers, and asked them, in dozens of different ways, if cigarettes were harmful or addictive, and if the levels of nicotine were deliberately controlled.

At the time, there was some confusion about Congressman Waxman's purpose. Rather than thundering out denunciations that would grab headlines, he seemed relatively polite and low-key.

The tobacco industry breathed a sigh of relief, doubled its political contributions to Republican Congressional candidates and watched them win power and cancel any more pesky hearings into the tobacco industry.

Mr Waxman was replaced as chairman of the commerce committee by Congressman Tom Bliley, a Republican from the capital of the tobacco-growing state of Virginia. The Philip Morris lobbyist Jim Dyer was appointed staff director for the House Appropriations Committee.

The tobacco barons became the biggest corporate sponsor of this year's Republican presidential convention. Tobacco's Big Five, Philip Morris, RJ Reynolds, Liggett, Lorillard and BAT's Brown & Williamson, were happily as Senator Bob Dole advanced upon the Republican nomination. Between them, they have contributed \$34.250 to Mr Dole's campaign coffers.

Brown & Williamson made an interesting choice of lawyer in the suit it filed against Mr Waxman and a whistleblowing former employee. It hired Kenneth Starr, the "independent counsel" running the inquiry into the Whitewater affair of President Clinton.

President Clinton has tried to outlaw the sale of tobacco to minors, and has given the Food and Drug Administration unprecedented authority to try to control tobacco as a drug. Even though he enjoys the occasion, Clinton is taking the tobacco wars personally.

The strongest weapons in the US Justice Department's armoury are the answers to Mr Waxman's deceptively low-key questions. The statements on oath by the heads of the tobacco industry are

strands which are being woven into a criminal noose. A grand jury is sitting in Washington, deciding whether Philip Morris's William Campbell and his colleagues lied, and can thus be convicted of perjury and sent to prison. Four grand juries elsewhere in the US are weighing other criminal charges against the establishment of the tobacco industry.

In Manhattan, the jury is investigating whether shareholders were told lies about their product not being addictive or harmful. In Brooklyn, jurors are examining whether the tax-payers were defrauded by claims that the Council for Tobacco Research was a scientific body searching disinterestedly for truth and thus entitled to tax-deductible status.

The Department of Justice is throwing the book at the tobacco industry. There is a serious prospect of top executives serving prison terms as criminals for what has traditionally been seen as routine corporate behaviour. Consumer advocate Ralph Nader suggests this industry has responsibility for millions of deaths could become "the commercial equivalent of the Nuremberg trials".

The state of Mississippi has announced a bizarre judicial auction in which lawyers bid for the chance to sue the tobacco companies to reimburse the state's health costs in treating smokers. The lawyers would have to finance their own lawsuits, in return for 25 per cent whatever damages they recover.

Then there is the case

known as the Mother of All Torts, the biggest class-action suit in legal history. Filed in a federal court in New Orleans on behalf of 90 million current and former smokers, it seeks damages for criminal negligence in marketing a product that was known to cause harm when used as directed.

Until this month, the Mother of All Torts was widely seen as a legal curiosity that would not get far. The prospect of being able to cite criminal convictions of the tobacco barons for fraud has dramatically shifted the legal odds in all civil lawsuits. Even tobacco attorneys, the tobacco industry is no longer fighting as one to defend its interests.

IGGETT, smallest of the Big Five, announced that it would open an open book with its torturers and abide by the Food and Drug Administration's new controls on selling and promoting cigarettes to minors.

"This is a major breakthrough, the first time a tobacco company has acknowledged that tobacco can be deadly, the first crack in the wall of denial," President Clinton said, as he convened an anti-smoking rally at the White House this week.

It is a bit more complex than that. Liggett is controlled by corporate takeover expert Bennett LeBow, who is engaged in a tough proxy battle to acquire RJR-Nabisco. That is RJR as in RJ Reynolds, second biggest tobacco company. Mr LeBow is using Liggett's legal surrender to

weaken tobacco stocks in general, and thus help his assault on RJR-Nabisco.

Tobacco appears to be on the ropes. And yet Philip Morris, seventh biggest company in the US, whose share price slumped from \$105 to \$80 in two days this week, is trebling its manufacturing capacity in North Carolina.

"I'm telling people to buy Philip Morris," said Gary Black, a stock analyst for Sanford Bernstein. "We have always made money by buying on weakness with Philip Morris."

The 10-year sales decline in the US has stopped, thanks to the \$5 billion spent each year on marketing and promotions. Last year, it made 220 billion cigarettes in the US and 593 billion overseas. New factories have opened in the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Russia and Kazakhstan, and a deal was signed last year to manufacture Marlboros in China.

There are 300 million smokers in the world, despite aggressive clampdowns on cigarette advertising. The \$8 billion raised by the tobacco tax represents the largest single source of revenue for the Beijing government. If the Marlboro Man is riding into an American sunset, it is sunrise across Eurasia.

### The heat was on when one man spoke out. But now there are three

JEFFREY Wigand, aged 53, may be the most investigated human being outside the espionage business. The head of research for Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corporation from 1989 to 1993 decided to give evidence claiming that his former employers lied while on oath; that has provoked furious efforts to attack his credibility.

Teams of lawyers and private investigators have pored over every aspect of his life, from the biochemical research that won him his doctorate to his employment history at Union Carbide and elsewhere. His credit ratings, bank accounts and investments are an open book.

The highest-ranking tobacco industry insider to break ranks, Dr Wigand claims that he was hired to help devise a safer cigarette, and decided to tell all when the company dropped the plan. He went from an annual income of \$300,000 at Brown & Williamson to \$30,000 teaching chemistry and Japanese to high school pupils in Louisville, Kentucky.

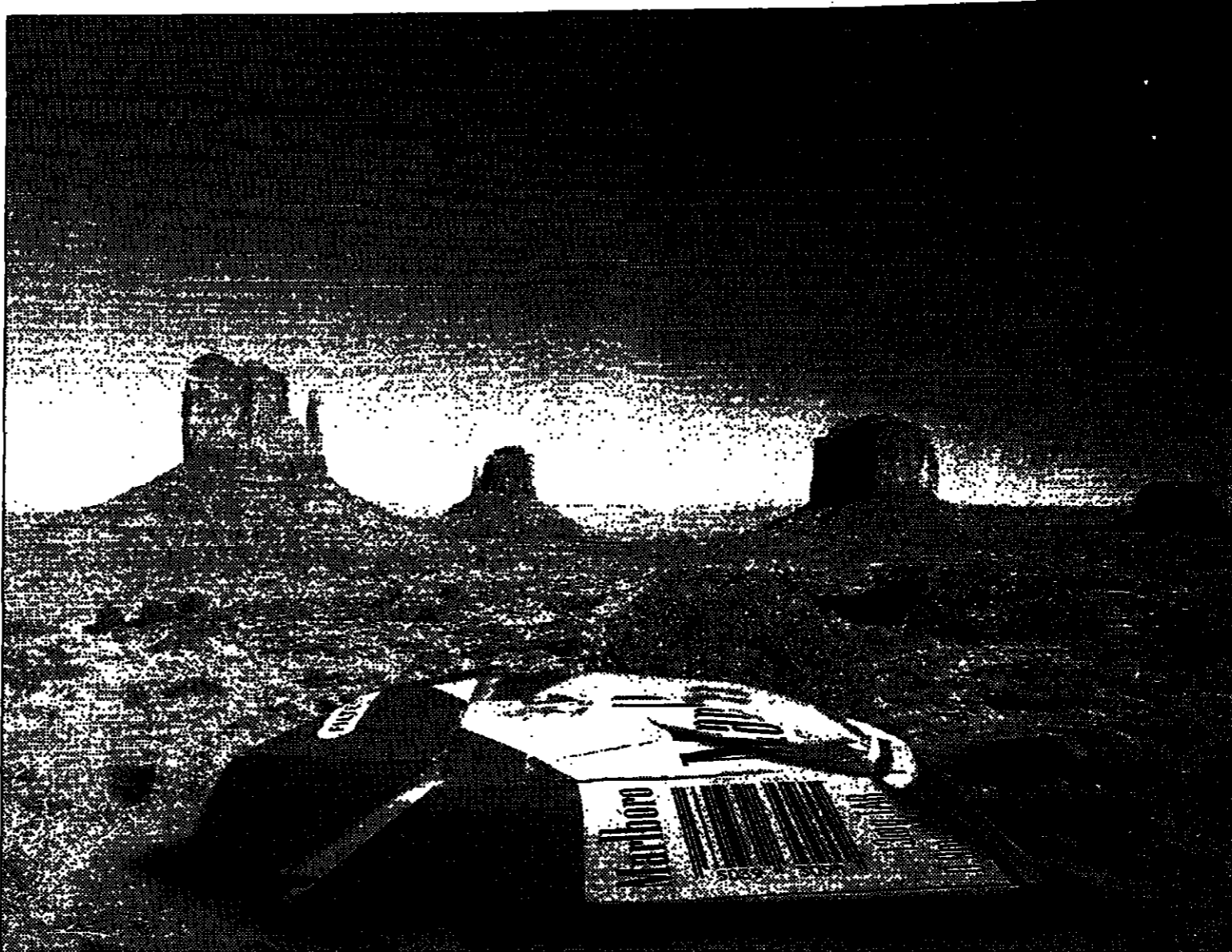
Brown & Williamson, a subsidiary of BAT Indus-

tries (British American Tobacco), managed temporarily to silence him with a confidentiality agreement, which he signed when he left the company. He claims he signed because he was desperate to maintain the health insurance for his family. The company denies using any pressure.

As the first big whistleblower on tobacco, Dr Wigand had TV crews camping on his doorstep, and subpoenas dropping on him like confetti from state courts around the country.

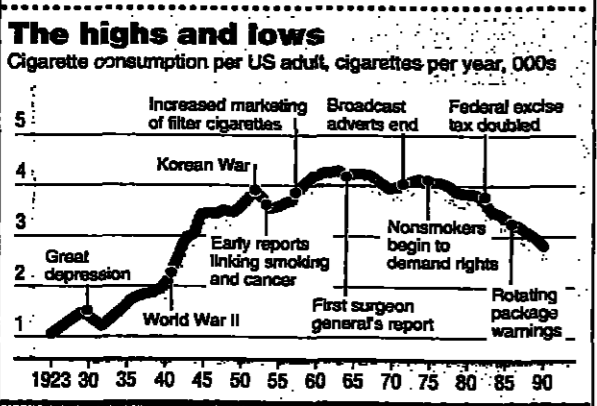
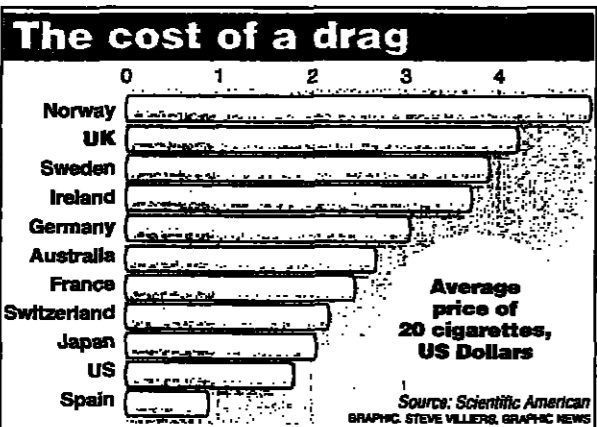
But suddenly, to his intense relief, he is no longer alone. Three more whistleblowers have surfaced, after giving broadly similar evidence to US federal prosecutors that their employers lied on oath when they claimed tobacco was not addictive, and that nicotine levels were manipulated to give smokers "the same pharmacological satisfaction" they received from cigarettes before the filter tip was invented.

That was the evidence of Dr William Farone, the former head of applied research at Philip Morris. Dr Ian Uddess, one of his senior scientists, and Jerome Rivers, a shift manager at a Philip Morris manufacturing plant in Virginia, gave statements detailing the way that nicotine levels were calibrated hourly throughout the manufacturing process, and the how ammonia was added to increase nicotine delivery.



Pack up your troubles...

MONTAGE: ROGER TOOTH



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## We're not that green

# 20

Pauline Springett

GREENIES roll up. A series of six lectures is to be held shortly in the City of London aimed at raising the profile of environmental issues in the "financial and commercial heart" of Britain. Well, that's what it says on the promotional leaflet, Green Futures.

Now, let's get one thing straight. The idea of such lectures is not bad — as far as it goes. But there is the unmistakable sound of a bandwagon being jumped on here.

The series is being organised by the London Environment Centre, part of London Guildhall University's Faculty of Human Sciences, and jointly sponsored by those bastions of the green movement, the insurance broking group, Sedgwick, and the Corporation of London.

A line-up of star-name lecturers is undeniably impressive, and includes Jonathan Porritt and Sir David Bellamy speaking on issues relating to the business world to ecology.

Sedgwick, endorsing the series, quotes Michael Heseltine, deputy prime minister, saying: "The City's investment in business has a worldwide influence and — whether directly or indirectly — a worldwide impact on the environment. The lecture series will help City companies to focus on the long-term environmental challenges the world faces."

Heza goes on: "It will also provide an excellent opportunity for those living in the City to hear the views of well-known speakers on environmental issues, all of whom are committed — as I am — to enhancing the quality of the world that we and future generations will live in."

Really? Just what sort of impact on the City's hard-nosed financial community will be made by six talks? True, the City is beginning to wake up to the existence of the environmental lobby. Last year's kerfuffle between Shell and Greenpeace over the Brent Spar oil platform saw to that. But City reaction was really more concerned about the effect of poor publicity on

profits — and what the debacle said for the quality of the City's financial management.

The corporate governance movement has also failed to change the way companies deal with environmental issues. A few companies now have environmental audits, but the practice is not widespread. Those that make environmental claims, such as Body Shop, tend to be regarded as sitting ducks for critics wanting to puncture a "holier than thou" bubble.

A remark from Sedgwick's vice-chairman shows — perhaps unintentionally — where the real drive for environmental change has come from. "Increasingly rigorous legislation, both in Europe and internationally, has led over the past decade to an escalation in the pace of development of environmental risk management as a discipline."

In other words, businesses are being forced to get their environmental act together mainly because of changes in the law introduced by Europe.

While it is possible that the lectures might help, it is more likely that they will simply allow the Corporation of London to assert that it is doing its bit to actively promote environmental awareness.

## Quick Crossword No. 8081

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A	P	S	O			
O	P	E	R	A	T	I
S	T	R	E	P	I	N
G	O	E	E	T		
S	H	O	V	E	L	R
E	A	L				
E	M	O	L	E	M	
I	O	O				
I	O	L	L			
T	O	L	I			
P	R	E	V	A	L	E
E	E	E				

Solution No. 8080

Across

- 1, 13 Microphone(s) etc (5,7,6)
- 8 Remove horns or branches (7)
- 9 Deep cleft (5)
- 10 Fiasco (4)
- 11 Fancy that! (4,4)
- 13 See 1 across
- 14 Brigand (5)
- 17 Fearful (5)
- 19 Water bird (4)
- 21 Gangway (5)
- 22 Pleasure (7)
- 24 Congenial person (7,6)

Down

- 1 Seed (3)
- 2 Onion-shaped (7)
- 3 Petria (4)
- 4 Frenzy of Scotland (5)
- 5 Remedy for nettle sting (4,4)

6 Dodge (5)  
7 Unintelligent person (9)  
10 Go-getting (outside lane?) (4-5)  
12 I agree! (4,4)  
15 Widow inheriting from her husband (7)  
16 Tours and missiles may be (6)  
18 Stoneworker (5)  
20,10 across Type of sandal (4-4)  
23 Small child or drink (3)

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